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LA HOLLANDE DU XVII^e SIECLE DANS L'ENCYCLOPEDIE

L'ENCYCLOPEDIE a été étudiée sous différents aspects. Divers travaux ont cherché à dégager de ses articles une doctrine et une technique. On a pu établir ainsi, d'une manière scientifique, les conceptions sociales et les idées littéraires de ses éditeurs.¹ Nul doute que de tels travaux peuvent se répéter, puisque le grand dictionnaire prétendait offrir une somme des connaissances humaines.

Nous nous sommes efforcés d'y rechercher et d'en analyser les passages qui ont trait à la Hollande. Ce choix se justifiait, si on se rappelle l'intérêt des philosophes du XVIII^e siècle pour les choses de l'étranger. Ils ont cherché à comprendre et à définir les autres peuples, souvent avec une sorte de prédilection. On n'ignore pas, par exemple, avec quelle bienveillance ils ont jugé les Anglais au point que les Anglais eux-mêmes trouvèrent leurs jugements par trop flatteurs. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que Voltaire, Montesquieu et d'autres nourrirent à l'égard de l'Angleterre une sympathie sincère qui trouvait sa source dans une sorte de parenté spirituelle avec les Anglais. Or, de nos jours, il a été suffisamment établi que l'influence anglaise a pénétré en France par la Hollande. Les hommes du XVIII^e siècle ont dû se rendre compte aussi de l'importance des Provinces Unies dans l'élaboration des idées qui leur étaient chères. On peut donc supposer que leur intérêt est allé aussi bien à la Hollande qu'à l'Angleterre et que vraisemblablement ils l'ont considérée avec beaucoup de bienveillance. Je ne crois pas que la question ait jamais été creusée sérieusement. Monsieur Valkhoff a donné quelques articles sur Voltaire et Rousseau en Hollande en se basant sur leurs récits de voyage.² Il me semble qu'il n'y a, en dehors de ces écrits, de meilleur document pour nous renseigner sur les sentiments des philosophes que le Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences.

¹ René Hubert, *Les Sciences Sociales dans l'Encyclopédie*, Paris, Alcan, 1923; Rocaford, *Les Doctrines littéraires de l'Encyclopédie*, Paris, 1890.

² *Revue de Hollande*, Déc., 1915, Mars, Avril, 1915; *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, VII, 1913.

Quelle a été la place de la Hollande du XVII^e siècle dans l'*Encyclopédie*? Comment les éditeurs l'ont-ils présentée à leurs contemporains? L'ont-ils étudiée seulement comme historiens ou encore comme doctrinaires? Voilà autant de questions propres à fournir matière à une assez longue étude. Nous ne ferons qu'en esquisser ici les grandes lignes et présenter une sorte d'inventaire des articles pouvant servir à traiter le sujet plus amplement. Nous insisterons seulement un peu plus longuement sur l'histoire littéraire de la Hollande telle qu'elle est exposée par les Encyclopédistes.

Les divers articles pourraient se grouper sous quatre titres, en considérant le pays d'abord du point de vue géographique, puis comme entité politique, en troisième lieu comme facteur économique, enfin en consacrant une étude à la Hollande savante, artistique et littéraire.

La géographie de la Hollande n'est certes pas le point de vue le plus important, mais elle trouve naturellement sa place dans une œuvre qui veut être complète et qui est inspirée, en outre, par des principes tels que ceux qu'on trouve exposés chez Montesquieu. Elle peut d'ailleurs servir de cadre à tout le reste.

Les Encyclopédistes nous présentent le tableau traditionnel de la Hollande menacée sans cesse par la mer, se maintenant grâce à ses digues et à l'effort constant de ses habitants (cf. art. "inondation," IV, 796, a; "canaux," *Supp.* II, 183, b; "dignes," *Supp.* II, 721, a, b; "Provinces Unies," XIII, 519, b; "Hollande," VIII, 245). Voici la description qu'on donne à ce dernier article:

"La nature a fait la Hollande pour avoir une attention perpétuelle sur elle-même et jamais pour être abandonnée à la nonchalance ou au caprice. Tout y est entrecoupé de canaux qui servent à dessécher les prairies et à faciliter le transport des denrées d'un lieu à l'autre. On ne voyage nulle part ni si sûrement, ni si commodément, ni si fréquemment, soit de jour, soit de nuit, de ville en ville; et l'on sait toujours, à quelques minutes près, l'heure à laquelle on arrivera. D'un bout de la Hollande à l'autre règnent sans interruption dans les grands chemins, les villes, les bourgs et les villages, des allées et des avenues d'arbres tirées au cordeau, taillées de toutes les manières, et bien mieux soignées que ne sont les avenues des palais des rois. Les bourgs et les villes se touchent presque et paraissent bâties de l'année. Ce qu'on appelle villages en Hollande, serait nommé ailleurs des villes ou des bourgs magnifiques: presque tous ont leur église, leurs magistrats, leurs foires annuelles, leurs maisons pour les orphelins, et beaucoup de droits et de commodités que n'ont pas plusieurs villes de France. D'ailleurs tout le pays est couvert de maisons de campagne, qui loin de rien apporter aux propriétaires coûtent beaucoup pour l'entretien."

Cette description n'a rien d'original. On en trouve de semblables dans bien des livres du XVII^e siècle écrits par des Français. L'auteur est le Chevalier de Jaucourt qui connaissait le pays pour avoir séjourné à l'Université de Leyde. Il a soin d'ailleurs de renvoyer aux ouvrages qui ont pu l'inspirer: à Basnage, *Description historique de la Hollande*, et au livre anonyme: *Le Jardin de la Hollande*, Leyde, 1724.

Mais cette description ne concerne que la seule province de Hollande sous les traits de laquelle, aujourd'hui encore, on a l'habitude de concevoir l'aspect extérieur du pays tout entier. Cependant les diverses provinces font chacune l'objet d'un article ainsi que la plupart des villes. Parmi ces dernières, il y en a qui, de nos jours, seraient passées sous silence; d'autres manquent dans le nombre; ce sont celles qui au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles avaient moins d'importance. Il convient de remarquer que beaucoup de ces villes ne semblent mentionnées que parce qu'elles virent naître quelque homme célèbre.

En ce qui concerne les productions du sol, l'auteur cite les fleurs comme une des plus belles et des plus caractéristiques; les habitants ont cultivé les fleurs avec une véritable passion. Les commerçants ont parfois quitté leur boutique et leur commerce pour s'adonner à cette culture qui rapportait des sommes fabuleuses (cf. art. "fleur," VI, 858, a; "tulipe," XVI, 741 b).

Pour l'organisation politique, il faut de nouveau se rapporter à l'article "Provinces Unies," XIII, 520 b, 521, a, b; "Hollande," VIII, 246 a; "République," XIV, 159, a. On y loue l'excellence du gouvernement fédératif quoiqu'il soit inférieur à la forme républicaine de l'ancienne Grèce. Ils sont à rapprocher des pages de Montesquieu, *Œuvres* (1838), pp. 83, 93, 253, 254. Les institutions particulières comme celle du Stadhouderat, sont étudiées à part (Cf. "Stadhouder," XV, 494, 495; "cognatique," III, 604, b). Les Stadhouder eux-mêmes sont représentés comme ambitieux, exploitant parfois les passions religieuses pour raffermir et étendre leur autorité ("Stadhouder," VII, 733 et s.). On insiste sur leur mérite militaire: ce sont eux qui rétablirent la discipline militaire en Europe ("Castrametation," II, 755, a). Guillaume III, "le Stadhouder des Anglais et le roi des Hollandais," est l'objet d'un long éloge, emprunté à Voltaire (La Haye, VIII, 246). Enfin le fondateur de la dynastie en même temps que fondateur de l'indépendance hollandaise, Guillaume 1^{er}, est cité à l'art. "loi" (IX, 644, b) comme une victime illustre de la duplicité de Philippe II, qui, par une contradiction étrange, mit à prix la tête du prince au nom de l'honneur, de la morale et de la religion.

L'article "Gueux" (VII, 999, b) trace l'origine de l'indépendance du pays. Ayant raconté l'origine du surnom donné aux insurgés, l'auteur conclut: "Tel fut le commencement de la république de Hollande qui d'un pays stérile et méprisé devint une puissance respectable." A l'article "Persécution" (X, 425), Diderot a soin de relever la leçon infligée par les rebelles au tyrannique Philippe II: "Le seul fait qu'il recueillit fut de perdre pour jamais les Provinces des Pays-Bas excédées de ses rigueurs."

La politique adoptée par les Provinces Unies au cours du XVII^e siècle trouve peu de commentaires (cf. art. "Wesphalie," IV, 71, a, b; "Münster," X, 854; "Nimègue," XI, 143, b). A l'article Louis XIV (*Supp.* III, 800, a, b), on souligne l'opiniâtreté des Etats Généraux à ne pas vouloir accepter les garanties offertes par le roi de France "pour la sûreté de leur barrière." Il est vrai qu'ailleurs, on oppose au portrait du roi, parfois équivoque et souvent franchement défavorable, celui de son adversaire Guillaume III, qui ne laisse aucun doute quant à la sympathie vraie des rédacteurs (VIII, 246, déjà cité).

Une omission inexplicable et injustifiable, c'est celle du Grand Pensionnaire de Witt. A peine trouve-t-on mention de son nom à l'article Louis XIV. Oldenbarneveldt n'est guère mieux traité; il n'y a rien sur son action politique, mais, chose caractéristique, on le trouve cité à l'article "raillerie" (*Supp.* IV, 566, a), sa mise à mort étant le résultat de la collusion de la justice vénale et de la secte intolérante des Gomaristes. L'article est de Courtepée.

Le gouvernement de la République a été tolérant, parfois indifférent aux opinions philosophiques et religieuses. Puis la Hollande a été le berceau ou le refuge de nombreuses sectes religieuses. Quoique le calvinisme rigide soit considéré comme la religion d'Etat depuis le Synode de Dordrecht, toutes les autres religions y ont droit de cité. Les catholiques y ont la même liberté que les Protestants (cf. les articles: "Unitaires," XVII, 387, b, 401, a; "Libertins," IX, 476; "Collégiens," III, 38, b; "Arminiens," I, 697, a, b; "Oudewater," XI, 701). L'auteur distingue les Arminiens ecclésiastiques et les Arminiens politiques, ces derniers comprenant quelques-uns des plus éminents hommes d'Etat. Armyn s'oppose à Voet avec tous les traits qui peuvent le rendre sympathique (cf. "Cartésianisme," II, 725, a; "Voet," VIII, 196, a, b; "Prédestination," XIII, 277-278). Mais les querelles religieuses de ces hommes ont été un prétexte pour les gouvernants pour atteindre des buts politiques; le Synode de Dordrecht fut "une comédie dans laquelle les politiques jouaient le principal rôle et les états se moquaient des députés de tous les pays étrangers" (art. "Waldeck Martinus," XVII,

584, b). "Le Prince Maurice... se sert du prétexte de la religion pour abattre les Républicains et pensa opprimer tout à fait la liberté de la Hollande sous l'apparence d'en extirper l'Arminianisme" (art. "Gomaristes," VII, 733). On jouit en Hollande d'une très grande liberté d'imprimer (*Le Journal des Savants*; III, 659, a) et ce pays a accueilli les Huguenots français "sacrifiés aux vues intéressées et ambitieuses de quelques mauvais citoyens qui sont les ennemis de toute liberté de penser, parce qu'ils ne peuvent régner qu'à l'ombre de l'ignorance." (art. "Réfugiés," XIII, 907, a). Il faut rapprocher de ces lignes ce qui est dit à l'article "Calvinisme" (II, 420, b), lequel est moins catégorique dans sa condamnation de l'intolérance en France.

L'histoire économique de la Hollande fournit matière à des articles importants. Voyez entre autres l'art. "Commerce" (III, 690), qui retrace l'origine de sa puissance commerciale et industrielle. Elle fut l'héritage des villes des Pays-Bas méridionaux; elle fut aussi l'aboutissement de deux choses opposées, de la tyrannie de l'Espagne d'une part, parce que celle-ci obligea la Hollande à chercher par tous les moyens des marchés nouveaux, et, de l'autre, de la liberté de conscience et des franchises qui régnaient chez elle, alors que la France, ajoute l'auteur, "était déchirée dans son sein par les guerres de Religion." Une opinion semblable est exprimée par Montesquieu (*Œuvres*, p. 351). Voir en outre les articles "Réfugiés," XIII, 907; "Provinces Unies," XVII, 66, b; "Lombard," IX, 68; "Virement," XVII, 325, a; "bourse," II, 373, qui donnent une idée de l'importance monétaire d'Amsterdam à partir du XVII^e siècle. Au t. IX, 916, a, on trouve le mot *makelaer*, agent de change, ce qui semble indiquer que le terme s'était imposé ailleurs que dans son pays d'origine.

Quant aux Colonies, les articles "Colonie," III, 648; "Commerce," 690; "Guinée," VII, 1009, b; "Java," VIII, 469, b. 470, b; "Moluques," X, 632 représentent les Hollandais comme les successeurs des Espagnols et des Portugais. Ils leur ont été supérieurs et ont su conserver ce qu'ils avaient conquis. L'auteur renvoie à Valentin et à de la Martinière; et pour l'histoire générale de l'expansion économique de la Hollande, au livre, *Le Commerce de la Hollande*.

En somme, le dictionnaire nous donne une histoire fragmentaire et incomplète de la République des Provinces Unies; l'économie y est traitée très amplement. Les idées émises sont généralement justes. Mais on voit dans la plupart des articles qui concernent ces deux matières, et souvent aussi dans ceux qui n'ont avec elles que très peu de rapport, que les éditeurs insistent sur l'origine révolutionnaire aussi bien de la puissance com-

merciale que de la puissance politique du pays. La liberté a engendré l'une et l'autre. Le progrès et la force sont le partage d'un peuple libre. La Hollande du XVII^e siècle en est un exemple. Elle s'oppose ainsi à l'Espagne, au Portugal et même à la France.

La Hollande intellectuelle du XVII^e siècle est abondamment représentée. Les universités de Leyde et d'Utrecht ont été des centres d'idées importants. Cependant on n'y dit rien du Cartésianisme. L'Académie de Leyde est la première de l'Europe. Il semble que tous les hommes célèbres dans la République des lettres s'y sont rendus pour la faire fleurir depuis son établissement jusqu'à nos jours (IX, 451 et XVII, 561, a). Suit l'énumération de ceux qui l'ont illustrée. A côté des Vossius on s'étonne de ne pas trouver les Heinsius père et fils. C'est encore une de ses lacunes habituelles au dictionnaire. Pour ceux qui se sont faits un nom dans une science déterminée, les mathématiciens, physiciens et biologistes, voir art. "anatomiste," *Supp.* I, 393 et 400, a; "physiologiste," IV, 352, a, b; "Hartsoecker," VII, 750, b; "Voorhout," lieu de naissance de Boerhaave, XVII, 468, a; enfin au t. VIII, 303, b, l'article "horlogerie." On y dit que jusqu'à Christian Huygens, "l'horlogerie pouvoit être considérée comme un art mécanique qui n'exigeoit que de la main d'œuvre; mais l'application qu'il fit de la Géométrie et de la Mécanique pour ses découvertes, ont fait de cet art une science où la main d'œuvre n'est plus que l'accessoire et dont la partie principale est la théorie du mouvement des corps qui comprend ce que la Géométrie, le calcul, la Mécanique et la Physique ont de plus sublime." Voir en outre pour Huygens, les tomes VIII, 24, a, I, 480, a, b; 490, a; IX, 718, b, et XVI, 36, b, où l'on affirme que la Hollande fut la patrie du télescope. Jansen de Middelbourg en fut le premier constructeur; après lui, Huygens sut l'appliquer avec succès à l'astronomie.

Les savants français et les réfugiés sont représentés par "Saumaise," XIV, 949, b; "Rivet," IX, 916, a; les "Basnage," XIV, 392, b; 393, a. Il y a à glaner dans l'article "Cartésianisme," II, 716 et s. Pour Bayle, cf.: VII, 42, a, notice biographique, au même endroit, et au t. III. du *Supp.* 659, a, b, il est question de son *Dictionnaire* et de son *Journal littéraire*, qu'il entreprit sur l'instigation "des savants hollandais." Dans divers autres articles, il est nommé et cité à propos de la pensée philosophique; c'est chez lui qu'on puise les arguments pour réfuter Spinoza, "le premier qui réduisit l'athéisme en système et qui en ait fait un corps de doctrine lié et tissu, selon la méthode des géomètres" (XV, 462 à 473, b). Diderot, qui est l'auteur de ces lignes, ne montre aucune sympathie pour cette doctrine.

Mais le portrait moral du philosophe est flatteur et est suivi d'une réflexion significative, tout à fait dans l'esprit des Encyclopédistes :

"Tout le monde convient qu'il avoit des mœurs, sobre, modéré, pacifique, désintéressé, même généreux; son cœur n'étoit taché d'aucun de ces vices qui deshonnorent. Cela est étrange; mais au fond il ne faut pas plus s'en étonner, que de voir des gens qui vivent très mal, quoiqu'ils aient une pleine persuasion de l'Evangile; ce que l'attrait du plaisir ne fit point dans Spinoza, la bonté et l'équité naturelles le firent."

Au jugement porté sur Spinoza, correspond celui porté sur Grotius, quoique moins exclusivement défavorable. Il est en effet celui qui "dans un siècle encore plein de ténèbres a suppléé à ce défaut par la force de son bon sens et de son jugement" (X, 701, b, art. "morale"). Il a le premier osé former un système de morale. Mais, ailleurs, ce système et ses principes se trouvent ou rabaisés ou combattus. Voir art. "Droit," V, 128, a, b, 132, b; "loi," IX, 659, a; "vingtième imposition," XVII, 861, b, 862, a, où on refute son affirmation selon laquelle "il y a des sociétés civiles et des gouvernements, parce qu'il y a des êtres qui sont particulièrement destinés par la nature à marcher sur la tête des autres." Or, "nul n'a reçu de la nature le droit de commander à son semblable." L'article est de Diderot. Il est à rapprocher de certain passage où Voltaire exprime son étonnement de la réputation de cet homme. "On avoit, ajoute-t-il, de son temps, de la réputation à bon marché." Il est à comparer aussi avec le jugement de Rousseau (*Œuvres*, 1852, I, 640), lequel, évidemment, ne put accepter les idées de Grotius sur l'origine du pouvoir.

La liste se complèterait aisément par l'énumération de savants, de philosophes et de théologiens secondaires. Je me borne aux plus représentatifs.

Et voici la Hollande artistique.

L'article "Ecole" (V, 323, a, b; 324, a, b) du chevalier de Jaucourt, passe en revue les principaux peintres hollandais du XVII^e siècle. L'auteur s'efforce de dégager d'abord les caractéristiques de la peinture hollandaise. Elle se distingue notamment par "la représentation de la nature telle qu'on la voit avec ses défauts." Les peintres hollandais ne recherchent pas "la belle ordonnance," "ils n'ont aucune invention." Aussi, ont-ils eu peu de crédit de leur vivant; leur réputation est en hausse depuis le XVIII^e siècle. Suit la liste de ceux qui se sont fait un nom dans l'art pictural avec courte notice sur chacun. L'auteur ne vise pas à être complet. On doit se reporter à l'art. "paysagiste," XII, 212 a et s. Voici ce qu'il dit de Rembrandt. "Cet artiste peignait sans avoir fait aucune étude." Il "se servait d'un subterfuge pour éviter des défauts de perspectives: il mettait ordinairement

des fonds noirs dans ses tableaux." Il se moquait de l'antiquité et c'est par la seule force de son génie et par son intelligence du clair-obscur qu'il a su atteindre à la vérité, la vie et aux effets merveilleux qu'on admire chez lui. Même éloge pour Dou et Van Ostade. Leur réalisme est plein de force et de vie.

L'auteur trouve l'explication de cette merveilleuse réussite de l'école hollandaise dans le flegme inhérent à l'homme du nord; grâce à lui, ils étaient capables d'une très grande application à leurs modèles. La vie commune de tous les jours a été leur principale étude. Chaque fois qu'ils ont touché à l'histoire, leur esprit réaliste et leur ignorance ont gâté leurs sujets. En effet, "les vêtements de leurs personnages sont extravagants et les expressions de ces personnages sont encore basses et comiques. Les peintres peignent Ulysse sans finesse, Susanne sans pudeur, et, Scipion sans aucun trait de noblesse ni de courage. Le pinceau de ces froids artistes fait perdre à toutes les têtes illustres leur caractère connu..." Description exacte, mais qui s'arrête trop exclusivement à la surface. Elle fait écho à ce que disait au XVII^e siècle même Andries Pels³ dont l'opinion était encore vivante au XVIII^e siècle. Ce critique hollandais considérait Rembrandt comme "le premier hérétique en peinture," lui qui pour ses modèles préférait choisir "une lessiveuse ou une tourbière plutôt qu'une Vénus Grecque."⁴

La curiosité pour les littératures étrangères était une nouveauté au XVIII^e siècle, si nous faisons abstraction de l'intérêt qu'on avait toujours marqué pour celles des pays latins. A cette nouveauté correspondait la création du *Journal Etranger*, en 1754, destiné uniquement, comme le dit le Prospectus du *Journal*, à faire connaître les auteurs étrangers.⁵ Déjà des travaux spéciaux avaient initié les amateurs à la littérature hollandaise, chinoise et arabe.⁶ L'Encyclopédie confirme cette vogue nouvelle.

La littérature hollandaise y est traitée fort amplement; elle est l'objet d'un article à part, ce qui n'est pas le cas des autres littératures étrangères. Celles-ci sont partiellement et rapidement passées en revue à l'article "poésie." Il est vrai que les auteurs hollandais pour figurer au dictionnaire, durent attendre le *Supplément* (cf. t. III, 430, a et s.), mais ce fait n'enlève à l'article rien de sa valeur, puisque Marmontel, collaborateur de Diderot, le fut également des quatre tomes imprimés plus tard. Le rédacteur de

³ Cf. *Gebruik en Misbruik des Tooneels*, 1677.

⁴ Cité par de Vooy, *Letterkundig Leesboek*, I, p. 405.

⁵ Cf. le N^o d'Avril, 1754.

⁶ Cf. Rocafort, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

l'article est l'éditeur, dans l'espèce Marc-Michel Rey, libraire à Amsterdam, éditeur aussi des *Œuvres* de Rousseau,⁷ de plus son ami.

L'article débute par une déclaration générale: "Les savants et les gens de lettres que la Hollande a produits, ne le cèdent peut-être ni en nombre, ni en réputation à ceux d'aucun autre pays..." Il faut sous entendre excepté à ceux de France, comme il ressort de la suite de son exposé. Il n'y a qu'un genre dans lequel ils peuvent se mesurer avec les Français, c'est l'histoire: "On peut même avancer que les histoires écrites en Hollandais sont comparables à ce que la langue française fournit de meilleur dans ce genre. Pour ne pas parler de van Ryd,⁸ de van Meteren,⁹ de Brandt¹⁰ et d'autres, Hooft a ramassé dans ses histoires tout ce que le Hollandais a de nerveux, de concis, de grand, de sentencieux: il ne cède ni à Saluste ni à Tacite; et peut-être que la seule chose qu'on pourrait reprendre en lui, c'est qu'il leur ressemble en tout. Son style a quelque obscurité; et trop grand amateur de la pureté du langage, il a mieux aimé employer quelquefois, de vieux termes, que de se servir de mots étrangers, qui, par une longue prescription, avoient acquis pour ainsi dire, droit de bourgeoisie dans la langue hollandoise."

Ces remarques ne manquent pas de justesse, mais l'obscurité de Hooft est, en somme, la résultante de ses qualités; quant à son purisme, il n'a pas besoin d'excuse. L'influence de la maison de Bourgogne avait entraîné l'introduction d'un grand nombre de termes étrangers dans la langue. Hooft tenta d'accomplir une œuvre très méritoire, l'épuration de l'idiome national. Cet effort, d'ailleurs, était dans l'esprit de la Pléiade dont s'inspirèrent, en dehors du classicisme ancien, l'école classique hollandaise.

Après la prose, traitée sommairement comme on le voit, l'auteur passe à la poésie. Les poètes trouvent en lui un juge plus sévère que les prosateurs. "Elle (la poésie) est en général fort inférieure à la Française." La raison de cette infériorité, le critique la trouve dans "l'air du pays qui se communiquant à ceux qui le respirent, leur donne plutôt le flegme propre au raisonnement, que la vivacité requise pour les saillies poétiques." Voilà appliquée, une fois de plus, la théorie des climats chère à l'école Encyclopédiste. Une autre raison, c'est le manque de popularité: "Un art qui ne mène ni à la réputation, ni au bonheur, est rarement cultivé comme il faut:

⁷ Cf. sur lui Préface de l'édition des *Lettres de J.-J. Rousseau* à Marc Michel Rey par Bosscha, Amsterdam, 1858. Rousseau fit la connaissance de Rey à Genève en 1754. C'est sur son conseil qu'il écrivit ses *Confessions*.

⁸ Everard Van Reyd (1550-1602) publia *Historie der Nederlandsche Oorlogen*, 1626.

⁹ Cf. van Meteren (1535-1612), *Historie der Nederlanden*, 1609-1611.

¹⁰ Geraerd Brandt (1626-83) connu pour sa *Vie de Vondel*; son chef-d'œuvre est *Leven en bedrjff van Michel de Ruyter*, 1685.

et c'est là la véritable raison pourquoi l'art poétique a été négligé." En effet, depuis la Renaissance, il s'était formé dans les Provinces Unies, une aristocratie des lettres, éloignée du peuple par son "académisme" et souvent par son culte exclusif du latin. De plus, à aucun moment, les poètes ne reçurent de la part des pouvoirs un encouragement quelconque, comme si leurs œuvres constituaient un bien national dont tout le pays pouvait être fier. Beaucoup désertèrent complètement la langue nationale, mais, sans doute, plutôt par goût que par intérêt, contrairement à ce que dit le critique: "Au lieu de s'inspirer, dit-il, de ce que Vondel offrait de beau, de nerveux, d'élévé, "quoiqu'exprimé avec maladresse souvent, à peine s'est-il trouvé cinq ou six poètes dignes de ce nom." La plupart "ont mieux aimé s'adresser à la poésie latine qui, n'étant pas renfermée dans les bornes de la Hollande, pouvoit au moins les payer de leur travail par une réputation acquise chez les étrangers." Ce serait ici l'endroit d'énumérer les mérites des Heinsius, des Vossius des Barloeus et d'autres, avec leur ancêtre Johannes Secundus. "Il n'y a eu qu'un nombre médiocre de bons génies," poursuit l'auteur, "qui ne se sentant peut-être pas aussi savant pour briller, parmi les poètes latins, se sont appliqués aux vers Hollandois, poésie d'un ordre inférieur." A côté de la raison de climat, de l'intérêt, de l'incapacité aussi, il y a celle de l'absence d'un code poétique: "Les Hollandois n'ont guère songé à établir des préceptes pour leur art poétique." Suit un parallèle avec la France, "où on a assigné à chaque sorte de vers les pensées et les expressions qui leur conviennent; et les poètes ont été obligés de restreindre leur génie, au degré d'élévation, de délicatesse ou de naïveté proportionné à la nature de leurs sujets, et aux caractères de leurs ouvrages..." D'ailleurs, "le lecteur hollandais est débonnaire, ayant le goût moins cultivé, et plus porté à pardonner les fautes, en faveur de quelques beautés qui le frappent..." Il ne juge pas de l'auteur par ses ouvrages; il juge ses productions par leur auteur. La crainte de déplaire ne sert point de frein aux licences de sa muse; il adoptera tout ce que son imagination lui présente... Ils veulent être à la fois Horace, Virgile, Juvenal, Sophocle, Térence..."

Ses assertions reposent sur un fond vrai. Bien loin d'avoir trouvé, comme c'était le cas des classiques français, un Malherbe qui leur montrât le bon chemin, ou un législateur, qui les approuvât, les Vondel et d'autres se virent adressée par Andries Pels,¹¹ l'émule de Boileau en Hollande, une censure semblable à celle qu'on vient de lire. Suit une critique de la structure du vers hollandais. Les poètes hollandais "n'ont pas songé à

¹¹ Cf. sur lui Te Winkel, *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 2^e éd. II, 461. Il publia *Horatius dichtkunst op onze Tyden toegepast*, 1677.

observer le repos dans les hémistiches, ni à éviter les enjambemens..." "Il y a des sons entiers dans Vondel même qui, prononcés comme il faut, ne laissent qu'à peine entrevoir la rime..." Seul Cats, dit l'auteur, a évité ces défauts. Ces observations montrent que l'autorité d'un Boileau subsistait toujours à l'époque de l'*Encyclopédie*, quoique les articles "vers" (XVII, 160 b) et "versification" (XVII, 165) se montrent moins sévères que notre critique.

Il y a cependant un genre de poésie où les Hollandais ont remporté quelques lauriers. "S'ils le cèdent aux Français pour le tendre, le naïf, le délicat et l'enjoué, ils leur disputent la palme pour ce qui regarde la poésie épique." A l'appui de cette affirmation, sert l'œuvre d'un Antonides van der Goes¹² et d'un Rotgans.¹³ Leurs poètes "ont des morceaux comparables aux beaux endroits de la *Henriade*."

La postérité n'a pas ratifié entièrement ce jugement. Le poème de Rotgans est écrit dans une langue boursoufflée, sans naturel, critiquée en Hollande à sa parution même et, au XVIII^e siècle, par ceux qui plaidaient un retour à la simplicité et au naturel. Quant à Van der Goes, son poème n'a pas cessé, depuis deux siècles et demi, de susciter l'admiration, quoiqu'on ait reproché à lui aussi des métaphores par trop savantes et une langue où l'emphase dépasse souvent les bornes.¹⁴

De nouveau, la critique de la littérature hollandaise nous apparaît ici, non seulement comme un partisan déclaré du classicisme français, mais comme ignorant totalement les tendances de certains de ses contemporains hollandais, qui comprenaient les inconvénients de l'imitation servile et des règles étroites et voulaient remédier aux maux qu'elles avaient fait naître.¹⁵ Il ne représente pas davantage cette théorie mitigée qui, par ailleurs, semble se dégager des divers articles de l'*Encyclopédie*.¹⁶

Les Hollandais réussissent aussi dans le burlesque. "Le *Typhon* et le *Virgile travesti* ont été parfaitement imités par un certain Focquem-brog..."¹⁷ "Un autre, nommé Rusting, a eu tous les talents imaginables pour cette poésie bouffonne. On le liroit avec plus de plaisir, s'il étoit un peu plus décent et plus délicat dans ses expressions. Son badinage est souvent licentieux..."¹⁸ Le premier imita en effet l'œuvre de Scarron

¹² (1647-1684); cf. son poème de *Ystroom* (1670).

¹³ (1654-1710); son poème *Willem de Derde* est de 1698.

¹⁴ Cf. Te Winkel, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

¹⁵ Cf. Tendances timides cependant, qui ne réussirent à percer vraiment qu'au XIX^e siècle (cf. Kalf, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, V, 567 et s.).

¹⁶ Cf. aussi la conclusion de Rocafort, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ Willem Godschalk van Focquenbroch, né à Utrecht en 1662; cf. sur lui Kalf, *op. cit.*, IV, 577.

¹⁸ Van Rusting, docteur en médecine de l'Université de Montpellier, *Œuvres*, publiées en 1693.

tout en sachant conserver une originalité propre. Il eut à son tour un imitateur dans la personne de Salomon van Rusting. Ils sont tous les deux tout près du théâtre comique, lequel cadre davantage avec le tempérament hollandais. Mais l'auteur n'a pour celui-ci que du mépris. "Les comédies hollandaises sentent le Tabarin. Ils n'ont pas trouvé de Molière qui a fait une école de bon sens d'un spectacle qui ne servait auparavant qu'à dérégler les mœurs." Il rejette d'ailleurs, comme mauvaises, les traductions hollandaises du comique français.

Ainsi ni le *Warenar* de Hooft, ni le *Spaansche Brabander* de Breero, ni *Trjntje Cornelis* de Huygens, écrits dans la meilleure tradition du réalisme hollandais, ne trouvent grâce à ses yeux.

A la critique par genre succède la critique par auteur. La liste de ceux qui illustrent l'histoire littéraire de la Hollande au XVII^e siècle y est loin d'être complète. Il n'est plus question de Hooft: il a été suffisamment discuté en tête de l'article. Mais Cats, Vondel, van der Goes, Rotgans sont de nouveau examinés. Il s'y ajoute Reyer Auslo qu'on n'a pas encore rencontré. On voudrait en trouver d'autres et parmi ceux-ci Constantijn Huygens, mais il est complètement passé sous silence. Il peut paraître trop simple de mettre ce silence sur le compte d'un oubli, et pourtant on ne voit aucune raison valable pour l'expliquer. A la même époque, en effet, van Alphen nomme Huygens en même temps que Hooft et Vondel¹⁹ comme un des génies qui ont embelli la littérature hollandaise: Il est vrai que l'œuvre de Huygens ne touche ni à la tragédie ni à l'épopée. Mais ce serait une raison bien faible.

En tête de liste se trouve Cats. Déjà, il a été cité comme une heureuse exception parmi les poètes hollandais, sachant observer les règles de la versification. Par surplus, chez lui point de grands mots; "ses vers sont aisés, coulants, bien cadencés." C'est cela aussi qui le distingue des autres poètes, lesquels "loin d'imiter son style simple, naturel et justement mesuré, ont presque tous donné dans l'enflure en recherchant l'élévation... Il a surtout excellé dans les contes ou petites historiottes. Il mérite, à certains égards, d'être comparé à notre La Fontaine: il est presque aussi original, aussi coulant, aussi aisé, aussi négligé, se permettant sans scrupules l'usage des chevilles pour la mesure des vers. Il est aussi moral, mais plus chaste que La Fontaine." Ses défauts, les voici:

"Il aurait bien fait de ne choisir que des matières profanes et de ne point altérer, par sa fiction poétique, des événements consacrés dans la Bible... Il a fait un nombre prodigieux d'ouvrages, et c'est là peut-être

¹⁹ Cf. *Theorie der Schoone Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 1778. Certains passages de cet ouvrage concordent, par ailleurs, exactement avec ceux que nous tirons de l'*Encyclopedie*.

son plus grand défaut... Nous ne parlons pas de beaucoup de choses basses, qu'on trouve dans plusieurs de ses pièces..."

Ce jugement ne fait que confirmer la grande popularité dont Cats jouissait, je ne dis pas dans sa patrie, mais bien plutôt à l'étranger.²⁰ Pendant longtemps, il y fut le représentant par excellence de la littérature hollandaise, alors que, en Hollande même, s'il était aimé et lu par le peuple, les milieux littéraires le considéraient comme un auteur de bas étage. Hooft et Vondel semblent avoir voulu l'ignorer; seul, Huygens, lui consacre un peu d'attention. Une réaction en sa faveur se produisit vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle, quand on commençait à se lasser de la langue uniformément élevée de l'école strictement classique. Mais ce regain d'estime ne fut que momentané. Cats n'est étudié aujourd'hui que parce qu'il représente, d'une manière parfaite, la médiocrité.

Le critique semble donc exprimer ici le point de vue de l'étranger ou celui des masses populaires. Il a pu avoir aussi un faible pour la tendance didactique de Cats, qui s'harmonisait assez bien avec le souci moral du XVIII^e siècle français. Le parallèle avec La Fontaine est certes par trop flatteur: la tournure embarrassée et la langue incolore du rimeur hollandais ne sauraient soutenir une comparaison sérieuse avec l'œuvre du poète français. Cats a cependant un défaut impardonnable aux yeux de ses admirateurs: c'est de mêler les choses saintes aux choses profanes. Ni l'école française, ni les critiques hollandais inspirés par celle-ci, ne l'admettaient. Mais, à tout prendre, ses qualités rachetaient bien des imperfections.

Vondel, par contre, n'avait en lui rien d'agréable pour qu'on pût passer l'éponge sur ses fautes. Il est vrai, il avait du génie, on l'admet, mais cela l'excusait moins que tout autre chose. Aux Hollandais, dit le critique, "il leur paraît assez fort pour opposer à Corneille et à Racine. S'ils se contentaient de le comparer à Shakespeare, ils pourraient soutenir cette comparaison. Ils y trouveraient des bigarrures brillantes comme dans l'anglais: un assortiment bizarre de traits sublimes et de basses trivialités; du noble, du poétique avec des bas et de la prose rimée, du génie avec de la pédanterie..." Plus loin, il poursuit:

"...nous croyons même pouvoir dire à peu près de lui ce que M. de la Motte dit d'Homère: dans quelque siècle et dans quelque pays qu'il eût vécu, il eût été un grand poète si, dès sa jeunesse, il avait perfectionné ses talents par l'étude, s'il avait puisé le bon goût dans les sources de l'antiquité, s'il avait vécu dans un siècle et dans un pays où la poésie eût été cultivée, il y a grande apparence que ses ouvrages auraient égalé ou surpassé même tout ce que les anciens et les modernes ont fait de plus mer-

²⁰ Cf. là-dessus *Te Winkel, op. cit.*, I, 350.

veilleux. Mais, par malheur pour Vondel, il monta sur le Parnasse Hollandais, sans guide et sans étude préliminaire..."

En somme, rien de plus élogieux que cette critique, mais elle est quelque peu décevante; il n'a manqué à Vondel, pour être très grand, que d'avoir certaines qualités indispensables; son élévation au faite du Parnasse est toute théorique.

Il est vrai que Vondel ne pouvait rivaliser avec un Hooft ou un Huygens par sa connaissance des anciens. Il se mit fort tard à l'étude des langues de l'antiquité et les délaissa de nouveau, on peut l'en soupçonner, quand sa conversion au catholicisme lui ouvrit une nouvelle source d'inspiration.

C'est d'ailleurs à propos d'elle que l'auteur formule une critique plus précise et plus impitoyable. "Le spectacle est fait pour divertir et non pas pour prêcher... les mystères et les miracles sont, sur le théâtre, hors de leur situation naturelle. Il est présomptueux et irrespectueux de jouer les Saints, la Vierge, Dieu..." C'est cette présomption que Vondel montra dans la *Pâque* ou la *Délivrance du Peuple d'Israël*; dans les *Frères*, où la bonté de Dieu doit, au spectateur, paraître "irréconciliable" avec la mise à mort des enfants de Saül livrés aux Gabéonites par David, sur l'ordre du Tout-Puissant; dans *Gysbrecht van Amstel*, dédié à Grotius; surtout dans *Lucifer*: mettre un sujet si délicat et si obscur sur la scène constituait non seulement une "témérité" mais trahissait un véritable "travers d'esprit." En outre, les chœurs de Vondel font languir l'action; et, partout, des invraisemblances, des disproportions, des inégalités nous choquent, détruisent l'harmonie de l'ensemble ainsi que les plus beaux vers.

On ne saurait nier le bien-fondé de cette dernière critique. Mais il est sans doute plus surprenant de voir le côté religieux du théâtre de Vondel rabaissé à ce point. Les Encyclopédistes prônaient, il est vrai, l'exclusion des sujets religieux du domaine littéraire. On se demande néanmoins si le critique ne s'inspire ici que des seules règles littéraires. De son vivant, Vondel s'aliéna nombre d'amis à la suite de sa conversion. Ce changement de religion ne semble pas non plus trouver grâce aux yeux de notre critique:

"Après avoir embrassé le parti des Arminiens, il se fit catholique, dont il faisait venir à propos le culte le plus souvent qu'il pouvait dans ses pièces de théâtre. Cette conduite scandalisa ses plus tendres admirateurs, surtout lorsqu'ils virent une tragédie de sa façon sur la reine Marie d'Ecosse, dont il fait une sainte, quoique l'illustre de Thou, né dans l'église Romaine, n'en dise guère moins de mal que les protestants. Vondel avait eu beaucoup de ferveur pour la religion qui était en vogue chez lui; il était fort ignorant en matière de religion et, par conséquent, fort passionné, (*sic*)..."

Et ailleurs, comme conclusion à la critique détaillée des principales

tragédies: "... Nous ne nous étendons pas sur ses autres pièces quoi qu'il y ait une assez ample matière pour la critique des satyres qui regardant, pour la plupart, les ministres de la religion dominante ne sont qu'un tas d'injures grossières et triviales, inspirées par une muse harangère." Il "mérita la haine des théologiens protestants."

De même, sa poésie lyrique semble, pour l'auteur, inexistante. On a vraiment l'impression que le prince des poètes hollandais ne reçoit pas le traitement équitable d'une critique objective. On a généralement trouvé plus à louer chez lui.

Reyer Anslo, converti comme Vondel, n'a, lui aussi, rien de bon. Cependant, la plupart des critiques hollandais, s'ils lui reprochent son affectation, s'accordent néanmoins à lui reconnaître de la sensibilité, de la vérité et une aptitude à faire d'excellents vers, dont notamment son *Afscheyt van Amsterdam* est un exemple.

L'œuvre de Van der Goes et celle de Rotgans est soumise à un examen détaillé. Les traductions en vers français de certains passages tirés des deux poèmes mentionnés plus haut, donnent aux lecteurs une idée de leur contenu. L'un et l'autre de ces poètes ont racheté certains petits défauts, dit le critique, par un génie incontestable, par "la grandeur de leurs pensées, le choix et la force de leurs expressions." Au T. XVII (661, a, b, 662 a.) le poème de van der Goes, composé pour célébrer la grandeur d'Amsterdam, situé sur les bords de l'Y, fait l'objet d'un article élogieux du Chevalier de Jaucourt.

Le théâtre de Rotgans, au t. III, est hautement loué. Ses pièces, en effet, selon van Effen, étaient les seules où les règles du théâtre eussent été convenablement observées.²¹

Tel est, en résumé, le tableau de la littérature hollandaise au XVII^e siècle, offert par l'Encyclopédie. Il est incomplet, même si on admet que l'auteur ne pouvait viser qu'à l'essentiel. Il ne parle ni du Cercle de Muiden, ni de Huygens, ni de Breero, ni des critiques qui, dans la deuxième moitié du siècle tentèrent d'imposer des lois au théâtre. Il s'inspire uniquement, pour apprécier ou condamner, de l'école classique française, mais il admet implicitement et sans le savoir que l'imitation servile de cette école fut, au XVIII^e siècle, la mort des Vondel et des Hooft. Il dit, en effet:

"La Hollande a eu des critiques et des commentateurs habiles; des jurisconsultes et des médecins célèbres. Mais Erasme, Bayle, Grotius, Boerhaave n'ont point eu de successeur; et la Hollande aujourd'hui n'a presque aucun caractère littéraire. Ce n'est plus que de la France et de l'Angleterre qu'elle tire l'esprit qu'elle vend cher aux Etrangers. Quand il

²¹ *Hollandsche Spectator*, I, 1732, n° 27, p. 213.

est rare à Paris et à Londres, elle en manque absolument: les presses se reposent et le commerce du papier imprimé en souffre. Un auteur Anglais l'a comparé, à cet égard, avec assez de justesse, à ces courtiers qui, sans avoir de capital, trafiquent pour des sommes immenses."

Lignes cruelles, mais qui disaient vrai.

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PARIS

MISCELLANEOUS

LE LAY DU TROT

THE theme of the *Lay du Trot*, the punishment of those who scorn to serve Love, is of interest because of its development and variations in Latin, Italian, French, and English literature. Since the text, edited by Monmerqué and Francisque Michel,¹ is very difficult to obtain in this country, I am giving a copy of the MS that I examined when I was studying the MS of *Le Lay de Melion*, which directly precedes this lay. The MS is to be found in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, on fol. 344, v^o, col. 1 to fol. 345, r^o, col. 3, MS 3516. On the first two folios there is a calendar² which ends with a table of *lettres dominicales* from 1268 to 1367, and which was probably written about 1268. From the names of two of the Saints in the calendar, Saint Erkemboden³ and Saint Omer, both Bishops of Thérouanne, we may infer that the MS was written in Artois.

The theme of the lay is the reward and bliss in after-life of those who are faithful to Love and ever responsive to his just commands, and the punishment of those who through cruelty or hard-hearted indifference reject him. Some of the treatments of this theme since the time of *Le Lay du Trot* have been noted by W. A. Neilson in *The Origin and Sources of the Court of Love*, (*Harvard University Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. VI),⁴ and also in his article on *The Purgatory of Cruel Beauties* (*Romania*, vol. XXIX).⁵

The most primitive form of the theme is to be found in *Le Lay du Trot*, or in the work of Andreas Capellanus,⁶ *De Arte Honeste Amandi*. In Ch. 6 of this work, the author presents a knight who describes to the lady he loves, who is very cruel and indifferent to him, the palace of the God of Love, which has four doors. The east door belongs to the God of Love himself, whereas the south door is given to ladies who are responsive to Love, but discriminating. At the west door we find women who bestow favors without discrimination, and at the north door are those who reject Love. After hearing

¹ Monmerqué et Francisque Michel, *Lai d'Ignorés suivi des Lais de Melion et du Trot*, Paris, 1832.

² Published in *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. I, p. 97, by Foerster.

³ In *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis*, Tomus II, p. 92, mention is made "de sancto Erkembodone, episcopo Teruanensi et abbati Sithiuensi in Belgio." Erkemboden was made Bishop in 720 or 721, and died in 742.

⁴ Cambridge, 1899, pp. 45, 72, 149, 188.

⁵ 1900, p. 85.

⁶ *Andreas Capellani Regii Francorum De Amore*, pp. 89-108, libri tres, recensuit, E. Trojel, Havniae, 1892.

the description of the four doors, the lady boldly says that she prefers to sit at the north door. Then, to frighten her, the knight tells of a vision he has had of the procession of the God of Love, followed by a troop of women finely dressed and each attended by three knights. Next comes a band of women surrounded by a mob of troublesome men. The third group is a wretched crowd of women mounted on lame horses and unattended, almost blinded by dust. Each group is assigned to its place in concentric circles around the throne of the God of Love, in the midst of a beautiful meadow. In the first circle, pleasantly watered by a central fountain, we find the first band of women; in the second circle, which is flooded by the fountain, without trees to shelter one from the blazing sun, is the second band. The third circle is reserved for those who have rejected Love—an arid region of fiery vapors where the women sit on spiked logs, the ends of which are turned by strong men. The knight is instructed by the God of Love to return to earth to warn such women as he should find resisting Love. He begins by warning his lady, who finally yields.

Another version of the theme is found in the *Conseils d'Amour* of Richard de Fournival,⁷ written probably in the middle of the 13th century. The author tells of an imaginary journey made in his youth to the kingdom of Love, where he sees the torments of those who have disdained love and the happiness of others who have yielded to its power. His story shows the influence of Andreas Capellanus. The ladies who were indifferent to love were led to a frozen pond on which were seats spiked with thorns that lacerated their flesh, while their feet were frozen in the icy water. The author remarks that their plight was richly deserved: "Ciertes, tant en feistes que ore en averés le desserte." In his counsels he advises against cruel arrogance on one hand and lack of discrimination on the other. In the *Lay du Trot* we do not find the women who have shown lack of discrimination whom we find in the works of Capellanus and Fournival. In the lay, a rich knight of King Arthur's court, named Lorois, set forth one early morning in April, mounted on a beautiful horse, to hear the nightingale sing. As he approached the forest he saw before him a band of 24 "damoiseles", clad in flowing tunics. They were riding on beautiful white palfreys which galloped along with such a gentle movement that if the rider's eyes were closed she could not have told whether the horse was in motion or at rest. Each lady had a knight at her side, also mounted, and beautifully clad in tunics lined with costly ermine. They rode along in perfect harmony, singing, embracing, and talking of love and knighthood. A similar group of 24 "dames", each attended by her knight, followed, riding joyously along. Then the knight heard a great noise in the woods, and saw a troop of 100 "puceles" ride forth mounted on sorry nags that galloped along, cruelly jolting their riders. The saddles were broken and patched in a hundred places and the maidens wore black frocks and were without shoes. They rode along, all alone, without a knight to sing to them, in the midst of snow and thunder. Lorois was so filled with pity at their suffering that he almost swooned from pain himself. Then he saw a group of 100 men riding along in the same sad condition as the maidens, in rags

⁷ Analysed by P. Paris in his *Notice sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Richard de Fournival*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1 e. série, II, 1840-41, pp. 50, 51.

and on emaciated horses. One of the ladies rode forward to explain to the knight the meaning of the procession. The first two bands of "damoiseles" and "dames" were those who had loyally served love during their life, and who had obeyed the wishes of those who loved them, for the reward of love is constant joy and eternal summer. The hundred "puceles", unattended, except from afar, were those who had disdained love while on earth, and who must now pay the penalty of their pride and hard-heartedness, condemned to ride on without rest for a moment. She tells him to warn all women who are resisting love to change their ways if they do not want to join her band, which repented too late, as did the man "who closed the stable door after the horse was stolen."⁸ After the lady had finished her speech, Lorois hastened to his castle to relate the story and to point the moral to his fair companions, who will have to trot along on jolting nags unless they choose to ride gently along, with song and laughter, attended by their lovers. It is hard to understand why the author of the lay divides his women into three groups, the "damoiseles", the "dames", and the "puceles", for the first two groups are treated alike. Possibly the "dames" suggest, or are suggested by, the women without discrimination, who appear in the procession of Capellanus.

Paul Meyer⁹ gives a résumé of a Catalan *Salut d'Amor*, which he attributes to the beginning of the 14th century, and which has the same theme. A poor knight is hopelessly in love with the wife of a count. One day while their friends were hunting, he and the countess stayed behind by a fountain where they saw a procession of seven ladies riding on snow-white palfreys with jeweled harness. As they drank at the fountain one of these fair ladies sang of the joys of those who serve the God of Love. Shortly after, seven other ladies came riding along, very beautiful also, but clad in rags and mounted without saddles on emaciated mules. When these ladies sought to drink from the fountain, they were driven away by a knight with a shining sword. One of the unfortunate band, who said they had been dead for more than 100 years, explained their sad plight, the punishment of the disdain of love.

"Dieu! car fumes orgueilleuses
Tous temps contre Amour, en plours
Languissons a doulour,
Tous temps serons angoissouses,
Dieu! car fumes orgueilleuses.
Et serons ainsi plourouses
Pour ceus qui doulour d'amour
Souffrirent tout jour."

In his *Confessio Amantis*,¹⁰ Gower points out the same moral. Rosiphele, the daughter of the king of Armenia, who has been indifferent to love, goes into the woods, one May morning, attended by her women. Soon she bids them withdraw so that she may enjoy the solitude. But she is not long alone, for a procession of women, clad in white, rides past, richly adorned, and each crowned a queen. Rosiphele is filled with surprise, but does not dare to

⁸ *Le Lay du Trot*, l. 283.

⁹ Paul Meyer, *Nouvelles Catalanes inédites in Romania*, vol. XX, p. 191. Text given pp. 205-209.

¹⁰ Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, edited by Henry Morley, London, 1889, Book IV, p. 190.

question them. As she is meditating on the strange procession, she sees a lone woman on a lean, black horse which, to her surprise, has a jewelled bridle. There are twenty-score horse-halters around the woman's waist, for she is valet to the band of ladies that rides ahead. She has been thus punished because she was "slow in love's lore." When Rosiphele inquires how she comes to have the jewelled bridle when every other appointment is so poor, the lady explains that she fell in love just before she died, but too late, alas!, to save her from her fate. Rosiphele, who is properly impressed by this tale, decides to mend her ways and remarks naïvely:

"Helas

I am right in the same cas.

But if I live after this day,

I shall amend it, if I may."

Boccaccio uses the same subject in the Eighth Novel of the Fifth Day of his *Decameron*, in the story of the young Nastagio degli Onesti, of Ravenna, who fell in love with a haughty lady of nobler birth than his, the daughter of Messer Paolo Traversaro. In vain he sought to win her favor by constant attentions and extravagant gifts and entertainments. Finally, he yielded to the pleas of his family and friends and left the cruel beauty, to take refuge in the country a short distance from the city. Here he lived in richly furnished tents, surrounded by his friends who tried to help him forget his love in entertainments and pleasure. One day when he was alone, a Friday early in May, he set out accompanied by a few of his servants, who were soon ordered to withdraw. He wandered alone into a thick pine forest. As he was lost in sad reverie, he heard the piercing cries of a woman and saw a beautiful lady, naked and dishevelled, her body covered with blood, pursued by two big mastiffs that bit her at every step. Behind them appeared a knight on a black horse, who also pursued the unfortunate woman, with a lance in his hand. Nastagio, filled with pity and horror, bravely tried to protect her from the dogs, but the knight stopped him by calling him by name and telling him that the woman was receiving her just punishment. The knight also came from Ravenna and recalled his tragic story. He had loved this lady who had cruelly scorned him. In despair he had killed himself with the same javelin with which he now was pursuing her. The lady died soon after his suicide, and was likewise condemned to hell, with the penalty that she should forever flee before her lover, while he, who had loved her devotedly on earth, was doomed by fate to pursue her so cruelly, pierce her heart with the javelin, tear forth the heart, and throw it to the dogs. But this does not end the horrible punishment, for divine justice revives her immediately, and the pursuit starts all over again. Every Friday at the same hour the knight overtakes her in these woods. This punishment is to continue for as many years as the cruel one made the knight suffer for months. Nastagio, although overcome with horror and compassion, saw that this scene might be of help to him in winning the lady who disdained him. So he invited her, her family, and friends to a banquet in his country retreat, the next Friday. He had his tents erected in the pine forest where again the bloody scene was enacted at the same spot, and at the same hour as the week before. Many of the guests recognized the lady and the knight and were filled with compassion and

terror, the cruel lady most of all. Straightway she repented and consented to marry Nastagio. They lived long and happily together. After this adventure it was noted that all the ladies of Ravenna were much more kind to their lovers.

The punishment of the cruel ladies in the stories already mentioned seems very mild in comparison with the bloody revenge of the knight. It reminds one of the punishment of adulterers found in the works of the monk, Helinand.¹¹ In his chapter, *De Cognitione sui*, he tells the story of a vision seen by a charcoal-burner. He sees a naked woman, pursued by a knight on a black horse, who overtakes her, stabs her, and throws her body into the fire. Then, after she is consumed by the fire, draws her out again, places her body before him on the horse, and disappears. This scene is enacted night after night, until the charcoal-burner calls upon his lord to watch with him. The master demands an explanation. He hears that the woman had murdered her husband; and, although she and her lover had repented at the eleventh hour, they were both condemned to eternal punishment.

"Chi commence li lay del Trot

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>"Une aventure vos voil dire
(fol. 344 v°, col. 1)
Molt bien rimée, tire a tire,
Com il avint vos conterai,
Ne ja ne vos en mentirai.</p> | <p>25 Tant k'il avint en .j. avril
Al glorious tans segnoril
Qu'il fu par .j. matin levés
Lorois, et molt bien acemés:
Il ot chemise de cainsil</p> |
| <p>5 L'aventure fu molt estraigne,
Si avint jadis en Bretagne
A .j. molt riche chevalier,
Hardi et coragous et fier;
De la table reonde estoit</p> | <p>30 Vestue, delie et sobtil;
Et s'ot une corioie cainte,
De piors ai jo veü mainte.
Il ne resabloit mie sot,
Car il ot vestu .j. sorcot</p> |
| <p>10 Le roi Artu que bien savoit
.I. bon chevalier honorer,
Et riches dons sovent doner.
Li chevaliers ot non Lorois,
Si ert del castel de Morois.</p> | <p>35 De chiere escarlate sanguine,
Forée d'une pene ermine;
Et si ert bel chauciés assés,
Car il avoit chauciers fretés;
Si avoit chauses detrancies,</p> |
| <p>15 S'ot. VC. livrées de terre,
Mieus seant ne peüsciés querre,
Et si ot molt bele maison,
Close de haut mur environ;
Et si ot molt parfont fossés,</p> | <p>40 Assés bien seanment chaucies.
Quant il fu chauciés et vestus,
Iluec ne volt demorer plus,
Ains commanda son escuier
K'il li amenast son destrier;</p> |
| <p>20 Trestor de novel regetés;
Et desos le castel apres,
Avoit rivières et fores,
Ou li chevaliers vout aler
Sovent por son cors deporter.</p> | <p>45 En la forest s'en veut aler,
Por le rossegnol escouter.
Li valles, sans nul autre plait,
Ce que ses sires volt, a fait.
Il mist la sele en son cheval,
(col. 2)</p> |

¹¹ Delisle, *La Chronique d'Helinand*, in *Notices et Documents publiés par la Société de l'Histoire de France à l'Occasion de son Cinquantième Anniversaire*, Paris, 1884, pp. 141-154.

- 50 Puis si li laisse le poitral.
Et quant il i ot mis le frain
(Li cevals n'i ert pas mort de fain,
Molt ot bel poil, bien fu gardé)
Devant son segnor l'a mené
- 55 Li valles, sans nul autre conte.
Li chevaliers el ceval monte;
Ses escuiers li a es piés
Uns esperons a or chauciés,
Après li a çainte l'espée
- 60 Dont l'endeüre fu dorée.
Quant ce ot fait, sans compaignon
S'en est issus de la maison.
Ensi en vait grant ambleüre
Envers la forest a droiture,
- 65 Les la rivièrre par le pré
U avoit flors a grant plenté,
Blanches et vermeilles et bloies.
Et li chevalier, totes voies,
S'en vait alques grant aleüre,
- 70 Et si s'afiche bien et jure
C'ariere ne retournera
De ci adont que il avra
Le rossegnol que il n'avoit
Oï .j. an passé estoit.
- 75 Et quant la forest aprocha,
Lorois devant lui esgarda;
Si voit de la forest issir
Tor belement et a loisir
Dusc'a .iiij.xx. damoiseles,
- 80 Ki cortoisies furent et beles.
Si estoient molt bien acesmées,
Totes estoient desfublées,
Ensi sans moelekins estoient,
Mais capeaus de roses avoient
- 85 En lor chiés mis, et d'aiglentier,
Por le plus doucement flairier.
Totes estoient en bliaus
Senglés, por le tans qui ert chaus.
S'en i ot de teles assez
- 90 Ki orent estrains les costés
De çaintures; s'en i ot maintes
Que por le chaut erent desçaintes.
Et si orent por mieus seir
Lor treces fait defors issir
- 95 De lor ceveus, ki sor l'oreille
Pendent, les la face vermeille.
La ot molt bele compaignie,
Cascune ert de bende trechie.
Totes blans palefrois avoient
(col. 3)
- 100 Que si tres souef les portoient
Qu'il n'est hom, se sor .j. seïst,
Se le palefroï ne veïst
Aler, que por voir ne quidast
Que li palefrois arestast;
- 105 Et si aloient tot plus tost
Que ne fesissiés les galos
Sor le plus haut ceval d'Espaigne.
Et sachiez dusc'in Alemaigne
N'a riche duc, ne castelain
- 110 Qui mie esligast le lorain
Que la plus povre ki estoit
A son palefroï mis avoit.
Et sor .j. destrier deles lui
Avoit cascune son ami,
- 115 Cointe et mignot et bien seant
Et envoisié et bien cantant;
Et si sachiés de verité
Qu'il erent molt bien acesmé,
Car cascun d'aus a bien vestu
- 120 Cote et mantel d'un chier bofu,
Forrés d'ermine et haut coés,
Esperons d'or es piés fermés.
Et li destrier sor coi seioient
Molt tost et molt souef ambloient;
- 125 Et sachiés bien que l'un harnois
N'esligast mie .j. riches rois.
Entr'eus n'en avoit point d'envie
Car cascuns i avoit s'amie.
Si se deduisoit sans anui,
- 130 Ces a celui, cele a cestui;
Li un baisent, li autre acolent,
Et de teus i a ki parolent
D'amors et de chevalerie.
La ot molt delitouse vie;
- 135 Et Lorois, qui les esgarda,
De la merveille se segna,
Et dist bien que ce est merveille,
Jamais ne verra sa pareille.
Et que que il s'esmerveilleoit

- 140 Fors de la forest issir voit
Iiij.xx dames tot alsì;
S'avoit cascune son ami,
Et totes erent acesmées
Si com celes c'ai devisées.
- 145 S'aloient grant joie menant,
Et les autres apres suant.
Et .j. petit d'iluec apres,
Avoit grant noise en la forest
De plaindre dolerusement.
- (col. 4)
- 150 Si vi puceles dusc'a cent
Fors d'ice forest issir,¹²
Que molt erent a mal loisir
Sor noirs roncis, maigres et las,
Et venoient plus que le pas,
- 155 Seules, que home n'i avoient,
Et en molt grief torment estoient;
Mais ce sachiés molt bien de fi
Qu'eles l' avoient deservi,
Ensi com vos m'orrés conter,
- 160 Se vos me volés escouter.
Molt estoient en grief torment,
Et trotoient si durement
Qu'il n'a el mont sage ne sot
Qui peüst soffrir si dur trot
- 165 Une lieueute seulement,
Por .xv. mile mars d'argent.
Les regnes de lor frains estoient
De tille, qui molt mal seioient,
Et lor seles erent brisiés,
- 170 En plus de cent lieus reloiés;
Et lor panel tot altresì
Estoient de paille fori;¹³
Si que on les peüst sans faille
Sievre .x. lieues par la paille
- 175 Qui de lor paneaus lor chaoit.
Cascune sans estrief seoit
Et si n'orent solliers ne chausces,
Ains estoient totes deschaues.
Les piés orent mal atornés,
- 180 Car eles les orent crevés;
Et de noir fros erent vestues,
Si avoient les ganbes nues
Dusc'as genols, et tos les bras
Avoient desnues des dras
- 185 Dusc'as coutes molt laidement,
S'estoient en molt grief torment.
Sor eles tonoit et negoit
Et si grant orage faisoit,
Que nus ne le puist endurer
- 190 Fors seulement del esgarder
La grant paine ne la dolor
Qu'eles sueffrent et nuit et jor;
Et Lorois, ki les esgarda,
A poi que il ne n'en pasma;
- 195 Et quant tot ce ot esgardé,
N'a gaires iluec aresté
Quant il voit homes dusc'a .c.
Qui estoient en tel torment
Com estoient les damoiseles
(fol. 345 r° col. 1)
- 200 Qui si hochoient les boeles.
Et quant il ot tot ce veü,
N'a gaires iluec atendu
Quant une dame venir voit,
Ki sor .j. sor ranci seoit,
- 205 Et trotoit issi durement
Que sachiés de fi que si dent
Ensamble si s'entre hurtoient
Que por .j. poi ne s'esmioient.
Li chevalier qui l'esgarda,
- 210 En li meïsme s'apensa
Que a la dame ira parler
Por enquerre et demander
Quele merveille estre pooit
Que devant lui passé estoit.
- 215 Le ceval broche durement,
Envers la dame isnelement
Vint Lorois, si le salua
Et la dame le regarda;
Un poi apres molt lentement

¹² Syllable lacking

¹³ Note in margin of MS. *fourrés*.

- 220 Sachies que son salu li rent,
Car a paines parler pooit
Por son ceval que si trotoit.
Et encore arestast la dame
Por ce ne hochoit pas mains s'ame
- 225 Car si li hopoit ses cevals
K'i n'est ne chevelus ne caus,
Se il sor le ceval seïst
Ja en tel lieu ne s'aersist
A sele, a crigne, a mont, n'a val
- 230 Qu'il ne chaïst jos del ceval;
Mais la dame n'en pot chair,
Por ce en getoit maint sospir.
Et lors li dist li chevaliers:
'Dame fait¹⁴ molt volentiers
- 235 S'il vos plaisoit quel gent ce sont
Saroie que ci passé sont?'
Ele respont: 'Jel vos dirai
Al mieus que dire le porrai,
Mais ne pus gaires bien parler,
- 240 Por ce me covient a haster.
Celes qui la devant s'en vont
Entr'eles si grant joie font
Car cascune solonc lui a
L'omme el monde que plus ama;
- 245 Si le puet tot a son plaisir
Baisier et acoler et sentir.
Ce sont celes qui en lor vie
Ont amor loialment servie.
Qui les amoient durement
(col. 2)
- 250 Bien fisent son commandement.
Or lor en rent le guerredon
Amors, k'il n'ont se joie non.
Certes eles sont a grant aise,
Eles n'ont riens qui lor desplaïse;
- 255 Ne por yver, ne por oré,
N'ierent eles ja sans esté.
Si se poent a lor plaisir
- Colchier, reposer et dormir.
Et celes qui s'en vont apres,
- 260 Plaignant et sospirant ad[es]¹⁵
Et ki trotent si durement
Et ki sont en si grief torment
Et ont taint et pales les [vis]
Sans homes cevalcent tot [vis]
- 265 Ce sont celes, ce sachiés bien,
C'aïnc por amor ne fisent rien,
Ne aïnc ne daignierent am[er]
Or lor fait molt chier comper[er]
Lor grant orgoil et lor posnée.
- 270 Lasse! jo l'ai molt comperée
Ce poise moi que n'ai amé,
Que ja en yver, n'en esté
N'arons nos repos ne sojour
C'ades ne soions en dolor.
- 275 A molt dure eure entre fumes nées
Quant d'amor ne fumes privées.
Mais se nule dame ot parler
De nos, et nos mals raconter,
Se ele n'aime en son vivant,
- 280 Ce sachiés bien certainement
Qu'ele avoques nos en venra,
Qui trop tart s'en repentira;
Car li vilains nos seut conter
Qui a tart commence a fermer
- 285 S'estable, cil qui a perdu
Son ceval, dont est irascu.
Li cuers de nos est ensemement;
Repenties somes trop lent'.
La dame a sa raison finée,
- 290 Li chevalier l'a escoutée
Molt bien et entendue l'a;
Après, la route s'en ala,
Lorois iluec plus ne demore,
Al castel de Morois retourne.

¹⁴ The word *il* has been omitted.¹⁵ Miniature cut out from opposite folio.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 295 S'a l'aventure racontée
Que la dame ot ramenbrée
De harnas, et mande as puceles,
As dames et as damoiseles
Qu'eles se gardent del troter,
(col. 3) | 300 Car il fait molt meillor ambler
..... ¹⁶
Deriere que si dur trotoit.
Un lay en fisent li breton,
Le lay del trot l'apele l'on. |
|---|---|

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DOUBLETES AND POPULAR ETYMOLOGIES IN NEAPOLITAN¹

DOUBLETES, with their "learned" and "popular" adaptation of the same etymon within the language, reveal perhaps more clearly than other linguistic phenomena the character and nature of their origin, phonetically and, more often, semantically. While it is to be regretted that no comprehensive study has as yet been made of them, philologists have given here and there rudimentary sketches of doublets in the Romance field for standard, recognized, literary languages such as French, Italian and Spanish. No mention has ever been made, to my knowledge, of doublets in connection with any dialect, simply because dialectal forms are assumed to be and are in fact, most generally, all popular adaptations. Neapolitan, however, with its consistent, vast, and telling literature, fully documented throughout the centuries from the earliest times up to the present day, is an important "literary" dialect and, as such, exhibits many linguistic characteristics generally associated with standard languages. While looking forward to a comprehensive study of Neapolitan doublets at some future time, it may be of some interest to give here a brief and general outline of them.

Some Neapolitan doublets merely follow, of course, the general Romance development: L. *causa* > Fr. *cause* and *chose*, Sp., It., Neap. *causa* and *cosa*; L. *viaticu* > Fr. *viatique* and *voyage*, Sp. *viatico* and *viaje*, It. and Neap. *viatico* and *viaggio*; L. *pensare* > Fr. *penser* and *peser*, Sp. *pensar* and *pesar*, It. *pensare* and *pesare*, Neap. *penzà* and *pesà*; etc.

Others follow more directly the general Italian development: L. *pensione* > It. *pensione* and *pigione*, Neap. *pensione* and *pesone*; L. *vigilia* > It. *vigilia* and *veglia*, Neap. *viggilia* or *vigilea* or *vegilia* and *veglia*; L. *vitium* > It. *vizio* and *vezzo*, Neap. *vizeo* and *vizzo*, where the latter word is an Italianism, the proper terms in Neapolitan being the plural forms *squase*, *squasille*, *vrucocole* and the like. In connection with this analogy of development, the important type VL. *mac'la* > It. and Neap. *macchia*, and VL. *mag'la* > It. and Neap. *maglia* must be considered. This general type is illustrated in Neapolitan proper by O. H. G. *merken* > Neap. *mercà* (Zin.); L. *tympanion*, 'small kettle drum' > Neap. *tumpagno* (*tumbagno* or *tombagno*), 'lid or head of a cask' (REW 9022), or "doppio fondo di botte" (Gal., D'A., etc.), and L. *tympanu* > (It. *timpano*, Calabrese *timpanu*, REW 9023),

¹⁶ Line missing.

¹ For abbreviated references in this article see appended LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Neap. *timpano*, a sort of 'pastry or pie', shaped like a small drum, stuffed mostly with macaroni.

These last examples lead us to examine those Neapolitan doublets which develop, in part, independently of Italian:

L. *oculata* > It. *occhiata*, 'glance or look', and also meaning *obbiada* or *sparo*, 'a sort of sea carp', red in color (hence an "eyeful"). In the latter ichthyological sense *oculata* is continued in Neapolitan as (*a*)*iata*, and in the former sense as (*a*)*ucchiata* (REW 6037a). This last word is a flagrant Italianism in Neapolitan where the proper term used to be *tenutamente*, a noun (in spite of its adverbial suffix) derived from the common and current verbal phrase *tene(re) mente*, 'to look or watch or mind', only the first part, *tene(re)*, being normally inflected. Compare, however, *tenementenno* instead of *tenenno mente* for "guardando" (Di. G., 396). Another Italianism, *guardata*, takes today the place of the earlier *tenutamente*.

**Arripare* is continued not only as Neap. *arrivà* (It. *arrivare*), 'to arrive', but also as purely Neapolitan *arripà*, 'to arrange in a row or line up' (REW 675), or also meaning 'to hide'. It is in the latter sense we find it used in: "Uh! mo sentimmo; Arripammoce cca, ca ridarrimmo" (C. Feralintisco [F. A. Tullio], *Lo vecchio avaro*, Napoli, 1727, III, 14).

**Studiare* continues not only as *studià* or *sturià*, in the same sense as Italian *studiare*, but also as Neapolitan *stuià*, former (*a*)*stojare*, 'to clean or wipe' (REW 8325). In a particular, reflexive, meaning of 'wiping' it is used in: "Stirate le braccia. Bella prova pe cierto, Stojate mo ch'aje fatto" (G. C. Cortese, *La Rosa*, Napoli, 1621, V, 3), where the vulgar and coarse innuendo strengthens otherwise the meaning of the word.

L. *excitare*, 'to awaken', is continued as Neap. *scetà* in exactly the same sense (REW 2970), instead of Italian *svegliare* or *destare*, and also in the Italianism *eccità*, 'to excite'.

L. *lapide*, 'stone', continued in Italian as *lapide* or *lapida* and in Neapolitan as *lapeta*, both in the sense of 'tomb-stone', is also found in Neap. *lapeto*, with the meaning of 'a large hail stone' (REW 4901). It. *lapis* and Neap. *lappese* < L. *lapis* do not concern us here.

L. *insula*, It. and Neap. *isola*, 'island', Sicilian *isca*, 'irrigated land', etc. (REW 4475), is found in the Bay of Naples as old Neap. *Isca*, modern Neap. and It. *Ischia* < *iscla* < *insula*, through *istla* (Intr., 257).

L. *axilla*, 'armpit', It. and Neap. *ascella*, 'armpit' (REW 842), gives also Neap. *scella*, 'wing or fin'. The nature of this doublet and the consequent difference in meaning of its constituents is not clear to Neapolitan lexicographers such as Galiani, Puoti, D'Ambra, etc., who list indiscriminately *scella* or *ascella* as "ala" or "pinna". The only exception seems to be the more modern Ceraso, who quite appropriately lists the two Neapolitan words, *scella* and *ascella*, separately, with their separate meanings. This necessary differentiation is irrespective of the fact that an older Neapolitan word for *ascelle* is *tetelleche*, from a VL. *titillicu*, 'tickling or ticklishness', on the semantic basis that the armpit is the seat of ticklishness (Perc., Gl.).

The type of doublets developed in Neapolitan from Latin etyma wholly independently of Italian is best illustrated by L. *accipere* > Neap. *accepi*, 'to

languish', probably from *accipere febrem* (REW 73), and *accevi*, 'to feed', probably from *accipere cibum*. Juvenal (Sat. 10, 229) has *accipere "labra cibum"*. D'Ambra's derivation of *accevere* from Spanish *acevedarse* is, of course, to be totally ignored, if for no other reason simply because such a word does not exist in Spanish.

* * *

Similarly to doublets, popular etymologies, to wit, errors or false interpretations of linguistic processes play a greater part in the evolution of language than is attested by the scanty studies upon them. Also like doublets, no mention seems to have been made yet of popular etymologies developing within any given dialect. For these reasons it may not be amiss to give a cursory idea of a few types as they occur in Neapolitan.

Let us first consider the general type where there is popular substitution of a word element nearer the experience of the masses than the original "learned" element. A type exemplified in Romance, for instance, by L. *paraveredu*, VL. *parafrenu*, O. F. *palefrei*, (E. *palfrey*), It. *palafreno*, Sp. *palafren*, etc., where the rare and strange *veredu* became associated in people's mind with *frenu*. To this general class belong:

Neap. *acqua 'e raso* < It. *acqua ragia*. The latter word (< L. *rasis*), meaning the 'resin of the larch-tree', is learned and somewhat rare in Italian itself where *resina* (< L. *resina*) is more commonly known. *Acqua ragia* is ordinary 'turpentine'. To the Neapolitan the wholly unfamiliar *ragia*, combined with the smooth and velvety quality of turpentine, suggested at once (It. and Neap.) *raso*, 'satin'.

It. *buon pro* < *buon prode*, literally 'may it do (you) good' or 'prosit', where the *prode* goes back originally to the Latin verb *prosum*, *profui*, *prodesse*, adapted itself regularly to Neapolitan phonetics into *bombrode*, semantically sterile to the Neapolitan mind which gives it, however, vigorous meaning by associating the second part of the word with *brodo*, *brode* or *brore*, 'broth'.

It. *cerfoglio*, 'chervil', a plant with aromatic leaves used in soups and salads, from L. *caerrefolium* (REW 1496), Gr. *χαίρεφύλλον*: *χαίρειν*, 'to rejoice', and *φύλλον*, 'leaf', when adapted into Neap. *cerfuoglio* (Puoti, D'A., Pad.) with the meaning of 'chervil' and also of *ghirigoro*, 'flourish', presented to the mass mind the problem of the very unfamiliar *cer*. The common 'chick-pea', the same kind of pulse so dear to Horace,² It. *cece* and Neap. *cecere*, came, through some association of ideas, to the rescue, the result being *cecerefuoglio* (Cer.). Whether *cecere* has any semantic justification or not is

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"... Quaecumque libido est,

Incedo solus; percontor quanti holus ac far;

Fallacem Circum vespertinumque perero

Saepe Forum; adisto divinis; inde domum me

Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum."

(Q. Horati Flacci
Sermonum Liber Primus, VI, 111-115).

immaterial, for *cecerefuoglio*, right or wrong, is nearer the common people's mind, experience and hearing than *cerfuoglio*.³

Some sort of analogous deformation occurred in *velucicolo* (Rus., 146) from It. *velocipede*, where *pede*, Neap. for 'foot', is not at all unfamiliar, and where the substituted *cicolo* means *cicciolo*, 'pork scrap'.³

Opposed to these last examples are those popular etymologies where the alteration or substitution either reverts back to the original etymological meaning, or else holds a strong element of wit, mordant or otherwise. I refer to the class illustrated in French by *pilules à pioncer* from *pilules opiacées*, where *pioncer*, 'to doze', reverts back to the "dopey" action of opium; and *coliques antipathiques* from *coliques hépatiques*, where wit is admixed. To these we may parallel:

Neap. *crapiolè* (D'A.) < Fr. *cabriolet*, 'cab(riole)', is associated with Neap. *crapiola*, 'leap or caper', and goes therefore back to Fr. *cabriole*, 'leap or caper', of which *cabriolet* is a diminutive, making of the thing itself a sort of capering conveyance, which it is.

Neap. *requiamaterna* (Gal., D'A., Pad.; Rus., 503) from L. *requiem aeternam*, where the "maternal" element renders the connection semantically obvious and psychologically interesting.

It. *palcoscenico*, ("scenic") 'stage', becomes Neap. *palcosceno* or *palcosceno* (Rus., 286), "'obscene" stage', with a generous amount of wit and verism.

Neap. (It.) *delicato*, 'delicate', is used for It. *delegato* (*di Pubblica Sicurezza*; Di. G., 13 and *Gl.*), police officer, which cannot fail to remind us at once of our own jocular "defective" for "detective".

To this same class belongs the less showy and more subtle Neap. *magnatis(e)mo* (Rus., 253; Di. G., 58) for It. *magnetismo*, where *magna* = *mangia*, and where the unwary may see in the second *a* merely a case of assimilation. Also, *trascurzetto* (Di. G., 14) for It. *discorsetto* (= Neap. *riscurzetto*), where the prefix *tras* alludes to a longer or more gossipy 'talk or tattle' than is otherwise warranted by the diminutive suffix. Here belong also, perhaps, Neap. *arduomobbile* (Rus., 145) for *automobile*, if we are to believe in the conscious realization by Neapolitans of how "arduous" automobiling has become; and *primma giuventù* (Rus., 69), literally "first youth", from It. *primogenitura*, if we can permit ourselves to remember that the Neapolitan expression is sometimes used to mean 'chastity'.

Phonetic development or alteration is at times responsible for popular etymologies. I have in mind the Sp. *cabeza de bobo* from the earlier *cabeza de lobo*, in vogue at a time when beggars used to show a head of the then abundant and destructive wolf as a justification for their begging. To this general type belongs, more or less, Neap. *schiatimpace* (Mar., 96) from an earlier *requis schiatimpace* (D'A) from L. *requiescat in pace*, where *-scat* develops regularly into Neap. *schiatto*, which coincides with the third person singular, present indicative, of the verb *schiatto(re)*, 'to burst' or "bust",

³ I, like many other Neapolitans to be sure, can see here various justifiable semantic connections, but, on one hand, they may seem too devious or far-fetched to anyone other than a Neapolitan, and, on the other hand, there is unfortunately no available material with which to document them.

and gives to *schiattempace* the meaning of 'let him (or her) *bust* in peace'! It is probably on an analogous pattern that Neap. *schiatamuorto*, 'grave-digger', was formed, although even without the pattern the word is as significant as It. *beccamorto*, Fr. *croque-mort*, etc.

In a class by itself is Neap. *cecavoccola*, meaning either It. *cuccoveggia* < M. Gr. *kukabaia* (REW 1898), 'owl', or, metaphorically, 'love', about which D'Ambra comments thus: "Secondo una opinione della plebe la civetta col suo cantare ammalia gli uccelli: onde li ghermisce, e ne fa pasto: sino la chioccia (*voccola*), tanto vigile dei suoi pulcini, si acceca al suo canto; e la civetta le rapisce la prole. Così Amore, esercitando i suoi incanti, delude ogni riguardo, e penetra ne' cuori. Il popolo è poeta; ed in Napoli deriva da Greci."

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Cer.—G. Ceraso, *Vocabolario napoletano-italiano*, 3 ed., Napoli, 1910.
 D'A.—R. D'Ambra, *Vocabolario napoletano-toscano domestico di arti e mestieri*, Napoli, 1873.
 Di G.—S. Di Giacomo, *Poesie, edizione definitiva con aggiunte, note e glossario*, Napoli, 1927.
 Gal.—F. Galiani, *Vocabolario delle parole del dialetto napoletano che più si scostano dal dialetto toscano* . . . , Napoli, 1789.
 Gl.—Glossario
 Intr.—W. Meyer-Lübke, *Introducción a la lingüística románica, versión . . . por Américo Castro*, Madrid, 1926.
 Mar.—E. A. Mario, *Vangelo, seconda raccolta con note e glossario*, 1. ed., Napoli, 1928.
 Pad.—G. B. Padiglione, *Nuovo dizionario napoletano-italiano*, Napoli (no date).
 Perc.—E. Percopo, "I Bagni di Pozzuoli", *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XI, 1886, pp. 597-750.
 Puoti—B. Puoti, *Vocabolario domestico napoletano e toscano*, Napoli, 1850.
 REW—W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911-'20.
 Rus.—F. Russo, *Poesie, edizione definitiva a cura di Pasquale Ruocco*, Napoli, (1928 ?).
 Zin.—D. Zinno, "A Brief Outline of Foreign Influences on the Neapolitan Dialect", *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, 1932, pp. 237-242.

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FOUR NOTES ON ITALIAN INFLUENCES

I. A FIGURE IN THE ORLANDO FURIOSO

IN connection with the description of Olimpia in the 11th canto of the *Orlando Furioso*, Ariosto makes use of the judgment of Paris figure:

"Se fosse stata ne le valli Idee

Vista dal pastor Frigio io non so quanto

Vener, se ben vincea quelle altre Dee,
Portato avesse di bellezza il vanto. . . " (70, 1-4).

There is a possibility that these lines were inspired by a passage in a poem by Juan de Mena:

"Si ouierades ya seydo
fiziera razon humana,
segund el gesto garrido,
vos ser madre de Cupido
y goçar de la mançana;
Mas si Paris conosciera
que tan fermosa señora
por naser aun estouiera,
para vos, si lo supiera,
la guardara fasta agora.¹

Bembo, in a sonnet addressed to Elisabetta Querini,—written during the third decade of the 16th century—was the first to imitate the Ariosto quatrain.

"Se stata fosse voi nel colle Ideo
Tra le Dive che Pari a mirar ebbe,
Vener gita lieta non sarebbe
Del pregio, per cui Troja arse e cadeo. . ."²

It was his influence rather than that of Ariosto that established the figure as one of the commonplaces of Petrarchistic poetry. Giovanni della Casa wrote a sonnet—*La bella Greca onde 'l pastor Ideo* (*Opere*, I, 1752, 61)—to the same Elisabetta Querini in competition with Bembo. Pietro Gradenico in *Se 'l pastor a cui fu nel colle dato* (*Sesto libro delle rime di diversi* . . . , 1553) closely follows the composition of the literary dictator. Other Italian imitations were made by A. Lalata — *Quando al giudicio del pastor Troiano* (*Delle rime di diversi* . . . [ed. Atanagi], II, 1565, 84)—G. Fenaruolo—*Lasso, voi sete le tre Dive, quelle* . . . (*id.*, 143v)—Terminio—*Presso un bel fonte le tre dive in Ida* (*Rime di diversi signori napoletani* . . . *Libro settimo*, 1556)—C. Coccapano—*Quel gran pastor, che già nel colle Ideo* (*Per donne romane: Rime di diversi* . . . [ed. M. Manfredi], I, 1575, 295)—L. Groto—*Se stata fosse la mia dea presente* (*Delle rime*, 1587, 23). It was also used by Peregrín Catalán de Valeriola and by Lope de Vega.³ In the second quatrain of his sonnet—*Si l'escrivain* . . . (*Œuvres complètes* [éd. Laumonier], 1925, IV, 72) Ronsard is inspired by Ariosto and probably also by Gradenico and Bembo. There is an excellent imitation of Bembo's poem by the Portuguese, Diogo Bernardes, in his *Rimas varias*, Lisbon, 1770, 2.

II. ARIOSTO'S CHIUSO ERA IL SOL . . .

The effect which the presence of milady has upon nature is a poetic convention which dates back to classical times. In a sonnet by Ariosto—

¹ In *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, 1912, 189.

² In *Gli Asolani e le rime* (ed. Dionisotti-Casalone), 1932, 237.

³ In the sonnet beginning: *Si a Paris puso en tan grave estrecho* . . . (*Cancionero de la Academia de los Nocturnos* IV, 1912, 146) and *Como si fuera cándida escultura* (*Segunda parte de la Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas*, Hamburg, 1823, 375).

Chiuso era il sol...—a fierce storm completely subsides when she appears. We have not been able to discover any passage either among the classical or pre-Ariostean poets which can be called a direct source of this composition. Ariosto may have been influenced by Petrarch's two sonnets—*Quando dal proprio sito*... and *Ma poi che'l dolce riso*...

Ariosto's version served as a model for a number of Petrarchistic poems. G. B. de gli Oddi made a fairly close imitation of *Chiuso era il sol*... Compare de gli Oddi:

"Allor, che d'atre nubi oscuro velo
Ricopre l'aria, sotto cui s'asconde
Quell'alma luce, ch'a i mortali infonde
Alte virtù del gran signor di Delo;
E tuoni e lampi van scorrendo il cielo,
E gran pioggia per tutto si diffonde,
Fremono i venti fra le torbid' onde,
Fugge il calor estivo, e torna il gelo,
Ecco apparir dal polo Orsin due stelle
Dai cui raggi uscia fuor tanto splendore
Che fer più che mai bel tornare il giorno.
Sparver le nubi in un punto dintorno
Cessaro i tuoni, i lampi e le procelle,
E'l sol più che mai chiar mostrossi fuore."
(*Sesto libro delle rime di diversi*... 1553).

with Ariosto:

"Chiuso era il sol da un tenebroso velo,
Che si stendea fin all'estreme sponde
Del l'orizzonte, e murmurar le fronde
E tuoni andar s'udian scorrendo il cielo;
Di pioggia in dubbio o tempestoso gelo
Stav'io per ire oltre le torbid' onde
Del fiume altier che 'l gran sepolcro asconde
Del figlio audace del signor di Delo;
Quando apparir su l'altra ripa il lume
De' bei vostri occhi vidi e udi parole
Che Leandro potean farmi quel giorno
E tutto a un tempo i nuvoli d'intorno
Si dileguar e si scoperse il sole;
Tacquero i venti e tranquillossi il fiume."
(*Lirica minore* [Fatini ed.], 1924, 37).

Other Italian poems directly inspired by the Ariosto sonnet are the following: B. Rota—*Era di nubi il ciel rinchiuso intorno*... (*Rime*, 1572—Bandello—*Era turbato il ciel e tutto pieno*... (*Il canzoniere* [ed. Picco], 1923, 65)—G. F. Bini—*Mentre che d'aspra pioggia et rapide onde*... (*Atanagi, op. cit.*, II, 48)—Querenghi—*Apparve il sol in luce oscura e mesta*... (*Il primo volume delle rime scelte*... 1564, 619)—A. Lionardi—*Era Giunon turbata come alhora*... (*Il secondo volume delle rime scelte*... 1565, 201)—T. Tasso—*La terra si copria d'orrido velo*... (*Le rime* [ed. Solerti], 1898,

II, 40)—Marino—*Tinser l'aria di notte oscura ecclissi...* (*La lira*, pt. 3, 1638, 60). Maurice Scève imitated the same Ariosto sonnet in a *dizain* in his *Délie: L'air tout esmeu de ma longue peine...* ([éd. Parturier], 1916, 116). So did Du Bellay in the 11th sonnet of his *Olive: Des ventz emuez la raige impétueuse...* (*Ceuvres poétiques* [éd. Chamard], 1908, 36). In his imitation: *Un voyle obscur par l'ortizon espars...* (*op. cit.*, 112) Ronsard also drew some details from the Petrarchan poems already mentioned. In Spanish it was imitated by Lope de Vega in his *Con imperfectos círculos enlazan...* (*Rimas humanas* [Colección de las obras sueltas IV], 1776, 195), by Martín de la Plaza in *Cubierto estaba el sol de un negro velo...* (*Flores de poetas ilustres* [ed. Quiros, Rodríguez Marín], 1896, 141-2), by Augustin Calderón in *Del cierzo alborotó la fuerza fiera...* (*Flores, op. cit.*, II, 107) and possibly by Arguijo in *Yo vi del rojo sol la luz serena...* (*Flores, op. cit.*, II, 30). P. de Andrade Caminha's Portuguese epigram: *Não grave tormenta aspera e dura...* (*Poesias ineditas* [ed. Priebisch], 1898, 81) is probably also indebted to *Chiuso era il sol...* Manoel Faria y Sousa was original at least in form when he put the theme into a charming madrigal in his *Fuente de Aganipe, Parte tercera*, Madrid, 1646, 96. In English a translation by Capel Loft appeared in the 4th volume of his *Laura or an Anthology of Sonnets* (London, 1813, #565). Another translation was printed in the *London Magazine* (IX, 1824, 432), which, in turn, was included by Longfellow in his *Poets and Poetry of Europe* (Philadelphia, 1847, 159-60).

III. THE SOURCE OF A SONNET BY BANDELLO.

F. Picco, the most recent editor of Bandello's *Canzoniere* (Turin, 1923, p. 65) mentions that G. F. Napione, an 18th-century scholar, considered the sonnet: *Stanco già di ferir...* as one of the very best which the popular Renaissance short-story writer composed. Had the latter been aware that it is almost a translation of Angeriano's *De Coelia et Amore*, he would probably have modified his opinion. Compare Bandello:

"Stanco già di ferir, non sazio Amore
Volò nel grembo di colei, che suole
Con duo begli occhi, e angeliche parole
Di libertate trarmi ognora fore.
Ella sentendo il non usato ardore,
Quell'alme e dive luci al mondo sole
Chinò sdegnata, e disse: or qui che vuole
Il falso, lusinghier, il traditore?
Qual chi col piede il serpe all'improvviso
Calca, divenne Amor, e sbigottito
Fuggendo, disse: dove m'era assiso!
Non è quello il bel volto al ciel gradito?
Quei pur son gli occhi, e quell'è 'l vago viso
Le mamme, e 'l petto dove i' fui nodrito".

with Angeriano:

"Lassatus cursu, & quaerens requiescere, pulchrae
Virginis in gremium candidus ibat Amor.

Illa excandescit tanquam notus imbrubus actus,
 Tanquam in uesano nigra procella mari.
 Excudit hunc totis manibus, proclamat & obstat,
 Pollueret castos ne sibi flamma sinus.
 Cur trudor? ait deus, admiratur illa
 Ut pede qui pressit colubrum post horret, abitq;
 Sic miser audito hoc nomine fugit Amor.
 Et fugiens dixit, fugienti parce, parentem
 Credideram, non te, tu mihi visa parens".
 (*Erotapaegnion, Eclogae, etc.*, 1520, Aij).

IV. MESDAMES DES ROCHES AND ACCOLTI.

In the last half of the 16th century the Mesdames des Roches of Poitiers (Madeleine and her daughter, Catherine) were famous for their learning.⁴ The *Premiers Œuvres de des Roches de Poitiers*, printed in Rouen in 1605, contain four epitaphs (pp. 161-2) that were imitated or translated from Bernardo Accolti's *Verginia*. These epitaphs, gracefully expressed, were probably written by Mme des Roches.⁵ Compare her Niobe octave:

"Je suis Niobé: hélas! plaignez mon adventure,
 Mon sort est misérable & digne de pitié,
 Sept filles & Sept fils me donna la nature,
 J'en perdus en un jour l'une & l'autre moitié:
 Le marbre est maintenant du marbre sépulture.
 Ainsi le veut du ciel la fière inimitié:
 Je fus Royne, & suis marbre, dessous ceste terre,
 Passant, tu n'y verras que la pierre en la pierre".

with Accolti's:

"Niobe son: legga mia sorte dura
 Chi miser è, non chi mai non si dolse.
 Sette e sette figliuol mi diè natura,
 E sette e sette un giorno sol mi tolse;
 Poi fè 'l marmore al marmor sepoltura,
 Perchè 'l ciel me, Regina, in pietra volse;
 E se non credi apri 'l sepolcro basso,
 Non cener troverai, ma sasso in sasso". (*Verginia*, 1585 ed. 47).

The other three deal with Medea, Clytemnestra (Orestes) and Lucretia. The opening verse of the imitation and of the original are as follows:

2. "Fuyez dames fuyez l'amoureuse pointure..." (Medea).
 "Fugite l'amoureuse cure acerbe..." (47v).
3. "Orestes furieux pour la mort de son père..." (Clytemnestra).
 "Del morto padre l'agitato Oreste..." (Orestes). (48).
4. "Le pauvre Colatin voyant sa triste femme..." (Lucretia).
 "Gridando Collatin con pena e doglia..." (48).

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⁴ See *Biographie universelle*, Paris, 1855, 551-2.

⁵ The epitaphs in our edition are presumably the same as those in *Les Œuvres...*, Paris, 1578. According to Vaganay, *Le Sonnet en Italie et en France*, (Lyon, 1903), these are by Mme Des Roches, la mère.

A FAVORITE METAPHOR OF VOLTAIRE

EVERY one is familiar with the story of the Hermit in *Zadig*. Having visited the "riche fastueux", and the "avare", Zadig and his companion finally arrived at the dwelling of a "philosophe retiré du monde". There, during a suitable repast, "propre et bien entendu", they sat and talked: "On parla des passions: Ah! qu'elles sont funestes! disait Zadig. Ce sont les vents qui enflent les voiles du vaisseau, repartit l'Hermite: elles le submergent quelquefois; mais sans elles il ne pourrait voguer. La bile rend colère et malade; mais sans la bile l'homme ne saurait vivre. Tout est dangereux ici-bas, et tout est nécessaire".¹

This idea that the passions, though dangerous, are the mainsprings of human accomplishments as well as the causes of human failures is, as has been remarked by Prof. Ascoli (II, 155) in his critical notes, characteristically voltairean. Prof. Ascoli has noted the various places in Voltaire's other works where the idea is expressed, generally with the use of the same figure of speech. A list in chronological order of these examples is as follows:

1734. *Traité de Métaphysique*. Moland, XXII, 222.

"Ces passions, dont l'abus fait à la vérité tant de mal, sont en effet la principale cause de l'ordre que nous voyons aujourd'hui sur la terre".

1734. *Traité de Métaphysique*. Moland, XXII, 224.

"Que dirions-nous de celui qui prétendrait que les vents sont une invention du diable, parce qu'ils submergent quelques vaisseaux et qui ne songerait pas que c'est un bienfait de Dieu par lequel le commerce réunit tous les endroits de la terre que des mers immenses divisent? Il est donc très clair que c'est à nos passions et à nos besoins que nous devons cet ordre et ces inventions utiles dont nous avons enrichi l'univers".

1738. *Discours en Vers sur l'Homme*. Beuchot, XII, 78-79. [The passage was suppressed in later editions of the *Discours*.]

"Sans doute elle [l'ambition] est utile, et son souffle rapide

Sur la mer de ce monde est le vent qui nous guide.

Il faut des passions: mais retenez, grands dieux,

De ces vents déchaînés le cours impétueux".

1738. *Discours en Vers sur l'Homme*. Beuchot, XII, 84.

"Vents, épurez les airs, et soufflez sans tempêtes".

1748. *Zadig*. [ed. Ascoli, I, 94-95. The passage does not occur in *Memnon*, 1747.]

1770. Letter to Frédéric, Janvier, 1770. Moland, XLVI, 547.

"Oui, l'amour-propre est le vent qui enfle les voiles, et qui conduit le vaisseau dans le port. Si le vent est trop violent, il nous submerge; si l'amour-propre est désordonné, il devient frénésie".

In analyzing the passages closely, it will be discovered that not only the idea is identical in all of them, but the same figure of speech occurs in all cases except one. Both idea and figure of speech come from Pope, according to Ascoli,² who cites an excerpt from Du Resnel's adaptation of Pope's *Essay*

¹ *Zadig* (Ed. Ascoli), I, 94-95.

² Cf. I, xliii: "C'est à Pope que Voltaire emprunte ici son éloge des passions." II, 155: "L'image, c'est à Pope que Voltaire la devait."

on *Man* (Paris, 1737) to show the similarity between the passage in *Zadig* and a corresponding one in Pope's *Essay*:

"La Vie est une mer où sans cesse agités,
Par de rapides flots nous sommes emportés.
La raison que du ciel nous eûmes en partage
Devient notre boussole au milieu de l'orage...
Mais de nos passions les mouvements contraires
Sur ce vaste océan sont des vents nécessaires".

Although at first sight these lines and the extract from *Zadig* have a seeming similarity they should be examined carefully. In the first place, they are by no means a translation of Pope's lines on the passions.³ In the second, Voltaire himself said⁴ that he wrote one-half of Du Resnel's verses. Since he had already used the same figure of speech in the *Traité de Métaphysique* (1734) before the Du Resnel adaptation (1737), it is not unlikely that Du Resnel either got the lines from or through Voltaire. Thus in quoting Du Resnel's poem to show the debt of Voltaire to Pope, Ascoli runs the risk of proving that Du Resnel received both idea and metaphor from Voltaire, or even that Voltaire in *Zadig* may have been imitating Voltaire in the Pope adaptation.

Certainly, there are those who would be inclined to doubt that the *Zadig* excerpt is an imitation of the lines from Pope's *Essay on Man*. Mr. Hermand, in his *Idées morales de Diderot* (Paris, 1923, p. 17), has pointed out that both idea and figure of speech can be found in Fontenelle's *Dialogues des Morts* (La Haye, 1728, I, 51). It was his opinion that they passed from Fontenelle to Voltaire's *Zadig*, but his assertion is devoid of proof. Furthermore, Hermand himself displays the weakness of his argument, when he quotes a passage from G. L. Lesage's *Cours abrégé de Physique* (Genève, 1732, p. 250), which has also some points of similarity to the Fontenelle and the Voltaire lines. As a matter of fact, there are other and striking passages from various authors which contain the same idea and employ with variations the same metaphor. The list arranged in chronological order is as follows:

1580. Montaigne, *Essais*, Book II, chapter XII (Ed. Villey, 1930, II, 467).

"Les secousses et esbranlemens que nostre ame reçoit par les passions corporelles, peuvent beaucoup en elle, mais encore plus les siennes propres, ausquelles elle est si fort en prise qu'il est à l'avanture soutenable qu'elle n'a aucune autre alleure et mouvement que du souffle de ses vents, et que sans leur agitation, elle resterait sans action, comme un navire en pleine mer, que les vents abandonnent de leur secours".

1671. Nicole, *Essais de Morale*, I, 50 (Paris, 1755).

"Nous flottons dans la mer de ce monde au gré de nos passions, qui nous emportent tantôt d'un côté et tantôt d'un autre, comme un vaisseau sans voile et sans pilote: et ce n'est pas la raison qui se sert des passions, mais ce

³ The lines in Pope (Ed. Elwin, London, 1877, Vol. II) are:

"On life's vast ocean diversely we sail

Reason the card, but passion is the gale".

⁴Cf. XLVI, 260: "A l'égard de l'Abbé du Resnel, il n'a jamais écrit dans le Siècle de Louis XIV, et d'ailleurs, comme j'ai fait la moitié de ses vers, j'ai eu trop de modestie pour en parler."

sont les passions qui se servent de la raison pour arriver à leur fin. C'est tout l'usage que l'on en fait ordinairement".

1683-1684. Fontenelle, *Dialogues des Morts* (La Haye, 1728, I, 51).

"Hérostrate: Ce sont les passions qui font et qui défont tout. Si la raison dominait sur la terre, il ne s'y passerait rien. On dit que les pilotes craignent au dernier point ces mers pacifiques où l'on ne peut naviguer, et qu'ils veulent du vent, au hasard d'avoir des tempêtes. Les passions sont chez les hommes des vents qui sont nécessaires, pour mettre tout en mouvement, quoi qu'ils causent souvent des orages".

1712. *Spectator*, No. 408, Wed., June 18, 1712. [Attributed to Pope or Budgell.]

"The strange and absurd variety that is so apparent in men's actions, shows plainly they can never proceed immediately from reason: so pure a fountain emits no such troubled waters. They must necessarily arise from the passions, which are to the mind as the winds to a ship, they only can move it, and they too often destroy it; if fair and gentle they guide it into the harbour, if contrary and furious they overset it in the waves. In the same manner is the mind assisted or endangered by the passions; reason must then take the place of pilot, and can never fail of securing her charge if she be not wanting to herself. The strength of the passions will never be accepted as an excuse for complying with them; they were designed for subjection, and if a man suffers them to get the upper hand, he then betrays the liberty of his own soul".

1732. G. L. Lesage, *Cours abrégé de Physique* (Genève, 1732, p. 250).

"La philosophie ne doit donc pas travailler à détruire les passions, mais à nous faire voir quels doivent être leurs véritables objets; après quoi, l'on peut, sans scrupule, y tendre à pleines voiles. Si quelque tempête survenant nous fait échouer au port, nous n'avons rien à nous reprocher. Il en est des passions, par rapport au bonheur, comme des vents, par rapport à la navigation. Quoique les vents causent toutes les tempêtes, et tous les malheurs de la mer, ils sont pourtant nécessaires à la navigation. Ainsi quoique les passions soient la cause de tous les désordres, dans lesquels tombent les hommes, une vie sans passions est une langueur insupportable".

1732. Pope, *Essay on Man*.

1734. Voltaire, *Traité de Métaphysique*.

1737. Du Resnel, *Essai sur l'Homme*.

1738. Voltaire, *Discours en Vers sur l'Homme*.

1748. Voltaire, *Zadig*.

1765. *L'Encyclopédie*, Article "Passions".

"Triste tableau de l'état où l'homme est réduit par ses passions! Environné d'écueils, poussé par mille vents contraires, pourrait-il arriver au port? Oui, il le peut, il est pour lui une raison qui modère les passions, une lumière qui l'éclaire, des règles qui le conduisent, une vigilance qui le soutient, des efforts, une prudence dont il est capable.

"Ce sont les passions qui mettent tout en mouvement, qui animent le tableau de cet univers, qui donnent pour ainsi dire l'âme et la vie à ses diverses parties. Celles qui se rapportent à nous-mêmes, nous ont été données...

pour nous avertir et nous exciter à rechercher ce qui nous est nécessaire et utile, et à fuir ce qui nous est nuisible".

It is not impossible for Voltaire to have found inspiration for his idea in Fontenelle's *Dialogues des Morts*, in Nicole's *Essais de Morale*, or even in the *Spectator*. It can be affirmed with some degree of surety that he was acquainted with all three works. It can not be denied that he was familiar with the *Dialogues* or with Fontenelle's flowery style, which four years later, in *Micromégas* (1752), he criticized. Moreover, an extract from the *Siècle de Louis XIV* (Beuchot XIX, 170) shows that he knew the *Essais* of Nicole: "Nicole (Pierre), né à Chartres, en 1625, un des meilleurs écrivains de Port-Royal. Ce qu'il a écrit contre les jésuites n'est guère lu aujourd'hui; et ses *Essais de morale*, qui sont utiles au genre humain, ne périront pas. Le chapitre, surtout, des moyens de conserver la paix dans la société, est un chef-d'œuvre auquel on ne trouve rien d'égal en ce genre dans l'antiquité; mais cette paix est peut-être aussi difficile à établir que celle de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre. Mort en 1695".

As for the *Spectator*, Prof. Ascoli has shown (I, xxxv) that certain incidents of *Zadig* were inspired by some of its articles. There is no evidence available to indicate that any of the other above-mentioned passages containing this particular metaphor directly suggested it to Voltaire. But it must be admitted that they could have been known to him. It is of course more probable that he had seen the metaphor in Montaigne rather than in G. L. Lesage, but it would be unwise to fail to consider the latter just because we do not know whether Voltaire was acquainted with him or not.

A close examination of each passage, however, will bring out that Voltaire did not follow closely any particular one of these authors in moulding his figure of speech. It is significant that there are elements in each which do not occur in Voltaire. For instance, Montaigne referred to two kinds of passions: bodily and spiritual. Montaigne's remark applies ostensibly to the spiritual ones. In Nicole, the function of the passions in their relationship to reason is discussed, whereas Voltaire does not consider this point. Moreover, in Nicole, the ship is "sans voile et sans pilote". Pope, as well as Fontenelle, discusses the relationship of reason and the passions. Moreover, in Pope's *Essay*, reason is the compass. This same thought occurs in the *Spectator* and in Du Resnel, but not in Voltaire. Finally, Lesage draws a moral from his observation which is absolutely lacking in Voltaire.

On the other hand, it should be observed that in the extract from Voltaire, there are elements which are conspicuously absent in the others. First of all, the language in Voltaire is different. The passions are "funestes", they "enflevent les voiles du bateau", they "submergent" the boat sometimes; without them, the boat could not "voguer". Secondly, it should be noted that of all the treatments that of Voltaire is the most concise, the most direct, and the most explicit. After the generalization, there is the specific example: "La bile rend colère et malade, mais sans la bile l'homme ne saurait vivre." All the other passages omit this practical example of the metaphor.

It must be concluded that not a single one of these authors furnished Voltaire with his figure of speech. And yet, the idea and the metaphor occur

so often that it is highly probable that Voltaire was neither unaware of its use or its appropriateness. Liking the passions to the winds was not an invention of Montaigne. He himself found it in Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Moralia*.⁵ Nor did Montaigne have an exclusive right to the metaphor. It can be found in English in the works of Waller and Suckling.⁶ And yet Montaigne in a way gave it new life by infusing it with the libertine spirit. Whether it appeared during the 17th century in the libertine literature of the time is unknown to me. It was certainly picked up at the beginning of the 17th century by Charron (*De la Sagesse*, Paris, 1604, p. 116) who after enumerating the passions exclaimed: "Voilà les principaux vents d'où naissent les tempêtes de nostre ame". It is reasonable to assume, however, that Fontenelle could have found it either in Montaigne, in some descendent of Montaigne, or even in Nicole, if not in Plutarch. Fontenelle may have furnished the idea to Lesage and the French traditional current. He also seems to have been the source of Pope in the *Essay on Man*.⁷ It was Pope or Budgell who used the metaphor in the *Spectator*. From Pope or Budgell it may have returned to France in Du Resnel's translation or adaptation of the *Essay on Man*. Or it may not have returned at all, since there was already the traditional French development of Fontenelle, Nicole, and Lesage. Voltaire's *Zadig* may be regarded as a fusion of the two currents. But it seems rather to be a clear case of a traditionally French idea and an identical traditionally English idea being expressed in a somewhat similar way. In such circumstances, it is best for the present to note the instances in which the idea occurs, but to carefully refrain from asserting that Voltaire found it in English or in the works of some English author any more than that he discovered it in France or in the works of some French author. Once more, he revealed the happy faculty, already noted by Marivaux, of thinking and saying what everybody was thinking and saying. He, however, thought it more clearly than Pope, and he said it more concisely than the others.

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⁵ See Montaigne, *Essais* (Ed. de Bordeaux), 1906 ff., IV, 264. The passage in Amyot (*De la Vertu morale*) reads as follows: "Si l'on oste de tout point entièrement les passions, encore qu'il fust possible de le faire, on trouvera que la raison en plusieurs choses demourera trop lasche, et trop molle, sans action, ne plus ne moins qu'un vaisseau branlant en mer, quand le vent lui default."

⁶ Cf. Waller, E., *On Divine Poems*, line 7:

"The seas are quiet when the winds give o'er;

So calm are we when passions are no more."

Suckling, *Love's World* (*Works*, London, 1772, p. 156):

"The sea's my mind, which calm would be

Were it from winds (my passions) free..."

⁷ E. Audra, in *L'influence française dans l'Œuvre de Pope* (Paris, 1931), has shown that a translation of the *Dialogues* was made by Hughes in 1708. Pope was familiar with the work and used it in the *Christiani morientis ad animam*, 1713.

NOTES ON ARNAUD BERQUIN'S ADAPTATIONS FROM ENGLISH POETRY

ARNAUD Berquin who, as a lyric poet, is known mostly on account of his translations and adaptations from Gessner, drew also upon English poetry for inspiration. This aspect of his work has never been studied. Yet his *Romances*, published in 1776, contained two pieces borrowed from English literature, *L'Hermite* from Goldsmith's *Hermit* and *La Funeste Vengeance de la Jalousie* from *The Spanish Virgin; or the Effects of Jealousy*, a ballad found in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. Another poem of the *Romances*, *Le Pressentiment*, was suggested by a passage of Saint-Lambert's translation of Thomson's *Seasons*, and, therefore, goes back indirectly to an English source.

*L'Hermite*¹ is a free adaptation from Goldsmith's *Hermit*,² although, according to *L'Année littéraire*, it was borrowed from Mallet.³ It should be pointed out that the French poet, Feutry,⁴ had already translated this poem in 1768 under the title of *L'Hermitage*.⁵ The English ballad tells the story of a young man who becomes a hermit because he thinks that his lady does not love him. The lady dresses as a man to go in search of her lover, and, finding him in his disguise as a hermit, she tells him of her grief. This leads to recognition and to a happy reunion. Goldsmith had originally given his poem the title of *Edwin and Angelina* from the names of the two characters in it. This old-style ballad had grown out of his many metrical discussions with Percy, and it aroused in England great enthusiasm in an age when the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*⁶ were opening new and broader horizons

¹ *Œuvres complètes de Berquin*, éd. Renouard, Paris, 1802, XIV, 129 ff.

² Cf. *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, edited by Peter Cunningham, F. S. R., London, 1854, Vol. 1, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Chap. VIII, 327-31 under the title *A Ballad*, and also among *Poems*, Vol. I, 23-33, under the title *Edwin and Angelina*.

³ "Cette Romance est imitée de l'Anglais de M. Mallet. M. Feutry en avait déjà publié une imitation dans notre Langue: mais le sujet a paru si heureux, qu'il n'a pu s'empêcher de le traiter encore à sa manière" (*L'Année littéraire*, 1776, IV 8). David Mallet (1700-1765) wrote *Amyntor and Theodora; or the Hermit*, London, *Complete Works*, 1759, I, 113-81. However, this poem has nothing in common with Feutry's *Hermite*, which is a translation of Goldsmith's *Hermit*.

⁴ Amé-Ambroise-Joseph Feutry (1720-1789) practised law at Douai for a few years and then devoted all of his time to letters. He was especially interested in English literature and the spirit of his works was strongly influenced by the poetry of Young. His most important works are the following: *Épître d'Héloïse à Abailard, en Vers, Imitation de Pope*, 1751; *Le Temple de la Mort, Poème*, 1753; *Ode aux Nations*, 1754; *Recueil de Poésies fugitives*, 1760; *Les Ruines, Poème*, 1767. He also contributed numerous poems to contemporary periodicals. It was, however, mostly as an imitator of Young that he achieved a certain popularity in his time.

⁵ *L'Hermitage, Romance imitée de l'Anglais par M. Feutry, à Sokosms et se trouve à Paris aux adresses ordinaires*. M. DCC. LXVIII. Goldsmith's ballad was translated also by François Andrieux under the title of *L'Hermite, Romance traduite de l'Anglais*. This version in 21 eight-line strophes of seven-syllable verses was published in the *Almanach des Muses* in 1787, 235-41. Another 18th-century translation in 14 eight-line strophes of seven-syllable verses appeared as *Raimond et Angeline* in Léonard's, *Lettres de deux Amans, Habitans de Lyon*, 1792, and was reprinted in a volume of essays entitled *The Quiz*, London, 1797. *The Vicar of Wakefield* was translated into French as early as 1767 by Mme de Montesson.

⁶ London, 1765.

to those who had hitherto been accustomed to the neat technique and limited vistas of Augustan poetry. A few copies, now extremely rare, were printed in 1764 for the benefit of the Duchess of Northumberland. The poem was incorporated in *The Vicar of Wakefield* in 1766. The first version differs from that in *The Vicar*, and, in turn, the text in *The Vicar* presents variants in the successive earlier editions.⁷ However, the scope and the spirit of the poem have remained the same in the various versions to be found in *The Vicar*, and the divergences are only minor details of style. A rapid examination shows that neither Feutry nor Berquin had access to the privately printed edition. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, it will be quite satisfactory to use the text of the fifth edition of *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1773), which, except for a few unessential points of punctuation, is identical with that of all later editions.

Berquin was acquainted with Feutry's adaptation and justified his re-handling of the same source by saying that he found the subject so interesting that he could not resist the desire to treat it in his own way.⁸ The English original is written in four-verse strophes in which an octosyllabic line is followed by one of six syllables. Whereas Feutry used the octosyllabic line and the eight-verse strophe, Berquin resorted to the alexandrine quatrain. His choice of a different technique, he said, was not due to any unfavorable opinion of Feutry's poem or to any feeling of rivalry. He had conceived the plan of preparing a book of poems of that type before he saw Feutry's adaptation; and *The Hermit* seemed to him so appropriate that he could hardly omit it. He adds that he has used a type of versification and a rhythm quite different from those found in Feutry in order to give his adaptation an air of novelty and to avoid a comparison which he has every reason to fear.⁹

Berquin's version is a free rendering. In several instances he fuses two of Goldsmith's strophes into one. The forty stanzas of the original poem have been reduced to thirty-one. The names Edwin and Angelina have been changed to Tharsis and Zélie, and the Tyne becomes *Le Tage*. It is interesting to note that, as he so often did with Goldsmith's idylls, Berquin drops out in this adaptation those details which he considers too prosaic. For instance, the following picturesque strophe of the English original is not to be found in the French version:

"Around in sympathetic mirth
Its tricks the kitten tries;
The crickets chirrup in the hearth;
The crackling fagot flies".¹⁰

⁷ For the history of *The Hermit*, cf. *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, M. B. From a Variety of Original Sources, by James Prior, London, John Murray, 1837, II, 79-94; *The Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith Including a Variety of Pieces Now First Collected*, by James Prior, New York, G. P. Putnam & Co., 1855, IV, 43-44; Austin Dobson, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, London, Walter Scott, 1888, 108-09, 124-25; and Temple Scott, *Oliver Goldsmith Bibliographically and Biographically Considered*, New York, The Bowling Green Press, 1928, 149-53. Prior's edition gives in the footnotes the text of the privately printed edition whenever it differs from the later editions.

⁸ Berquin, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Oliver Goldsmith, *op. cit.*, 27, stanza XIV.

In agreement with the contemporary theories of translation, Berquin could not follow the original word for word. He had to comply with the requirements of French literary taste. Yet, although his version has less swing than Goldsmith's and although it is also more insipid and colorless, he does not elaborate so much as Feutry and remains closer to the original in spite of the liberties which he takes with his text. This can be best brought out by comparing the translations of the same passage by the two French poets. Goldsmith writes:

"Then turn to-night and freely share
 Whate'er my call bestows;
 My rustic couch, and frugal fare,
 My blessing, and repose.
 "No flocks that range the valley free,
 To slaughter I condemn:
 Taught by that Power that pities me,
 I learn to pity them."¹¹

Berquin paraphrases these two stanzas in the conventional style of the French pastoral lyric. He gives them, the first especially, a typical Gessnerian touch, but like Goldsmith, limits himself to two stanzas.

"Tu ne peux dans ces bois trouver un autre asyle;
 Viens, ma porte est ouverte au fils de l'étranger:
 Un doux miel, quelques fruits, un lit frais et tranquille;
 Voilà tous mes trésors, tu peux les partager.
 "Mes agneaux, dans les champs, libres comme moi-même,
 Craignent peu que mon bras leur ravisse le jour.
 La pitié qu'a pour moi la puissance suprême,
 A la foible brebis je la donne à mon tour".¹²

It is not so, however, with Feutry's adaptation, which is more diluted and more periphrastic. It contains developments not to be found in the English text and has 24 lines instead of eight as in the original version.

The Spanish Virgin; or the Effects of Jealousy,¹³ the source of Berquin's romance *La Funeste Vengeance de la Jalousie*,¹⁴ contains an atmosphere of cruelty and weirdness worthy of the graveyard school of poetry and the Gothic tale. Isabella, a young orphan, is brought up by a nobleman, who becomes her guardian. The latter's wife imagines that he loves the girl and persecutes her. One day, the husband is called away on business. The cruel woman accuses the young girl of adultery and has her thrown into a dungeon. She feels the sting of relentless remorse when her niece dies of the bites of a terrible snake. She loses her reason and dies raving.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 26, stanzas V and VI.

¹² Berquin, *op. cit.*, 131.

¹³ I have consulted this ballad in the edition of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, published in 1823 by Samuel Richards and Co., London, IV, 167-72. Another version of it is also included in *The Pepys Ballads*; it does not contain strophes 7, 8, 9, 10, and 14, the adaptation of which is found in Berquin's *Funeste Vengeance de la Jalousie*. For the text of the Pepys version and the source of the ballad, cf. *The Pepys Ballads*, edited by Hyder Edward Rollins, Harvard University Press, III, 1930, 195-201.

¹⁴ Berquin, *op. cit.*, 131 ff.

Berquin informs us that, although he has been inspired by an English model, he can still consider the French poem his own composition. The merit of such writings, in his estimation, does not consist so much in invention of subject-matter as in beauty of phrase, images, and sentiments. He has tried to be entirely original in this respect, and he claims as his own inventions a number of details not to be found in the original.

The contrast between Isabella's innocence and the wickedness of her master's wife has received still greater emphasis and has been described with greater care in the French adaptation. This accounts for the 4th, the 7th, the 11th and the 12 strophes, which are entirely of Berquin's composition. In the last three strophes Berquin tries to impress the reader with a strong sense of awe and terror at the death of the innocent girl, victim of a repulsive snake, and the fitting punishment of the cruel mistress. The passage is most characteristic of the pseudo-classical taste of the period.

"C'est ta nièce: elle expire. Une couleuvre énorme,
 Les yeux d'un noir venin gonflés,
 Autour de ce beau corps roule son corps difforme,
 L'étouffe en des nœuds redoublés.
 Dans l'accès des fureurs, dont la soif la tourmente,
 Elle lui déchire le flanc,
 Et dans son cœur ouvert plongeant sa gueule ardente
 S'abreuve à long traits de son sang.
 "Ah! loin d'ici fuyons! fuyons! De cette image
 Comment supporter la terreur?
 Voyez notre furie, au comble de sa rage,
 Elle-même en frémit d'horreur.
 Mais quoi! Dieux! tout-à-coup le remords et la crainte
 Troublant ses esprits effarés,
 Elle croit des serpents, qui peuplent cette enceinte,
 Sentir ses membres déchirés.
 "Les voyez-vous, dit-elle, à ses mornes complices,
 Comme ils s'acharnent sur mon sein?
 Sauvez-moi, sauvez-moi de ces affreux supplices;
 J'attends la mort de votre main.
 La mort! Non, tu vivras, ô femme abominable!
 Le ciel te doit ce châtement.
 Vis, et que, s'il se peut, ton délire effroyable
 Ne soit que ton moindre tourment!"¹⁵

Berquin informs his readers that *Le Pressentiment* was inspired by the following passage in Saint-Lambert's translation of Thomson's *Seasons*:

"Un spectre, dit l'un d'eux, paroît vers le grand bois.
 Le jour de la tempête on entendit sa voix.
 Un autre en fait d'abord la peinture effrayante;
 Le crédule auditoire est saisi d'épouvante.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 136.

Le silence et la peur augmentent par degré,
Et plus près du foyer le cercle est resserré".¹⁶

After having quoted these verses, he adds: "J'ai essayé de tracer le tableau dont il a peint l'effet".¹⁷ Then, he goes on to say that those who have objected to the atrocity of the theme of *La Funeste Vengeance de la Jalousie* will find the subject of *Le Pressentiment* a too dismal one,¹⁸ and that he might perhaps have presented it more appropriately in the *Chant de l'Hiver*, a part of a poem in which he proposes to incorporate the most beautiful passages from Thomson's *Seasons*.¹⁹ Are we to infer from this that Berquin really planned to translate selections from Thomson? Although this is the only reference that we can find to this plan, it constitutes another indication of the high esteem in which he held this English poet. Later on, in *L'Ami des Adolescents*²⁰ he tells his readers how, as a youth previous to his coming to Paris, he enjoyed reading Gessner, Saint-Lambert, and Thomson.

The theme of *Le Pressentiment* is a very gloomy one indeed. This poem is the earliest literary document in France which is strikingly similar in content and spirit to Burger's *Lenora*, published in Germany only two years before and destined to enjoy later great popularity in England and in France.²¹ Julien, who is coming home to marry his fiancée Lise after an absence of two months, is killed by assassins. That very night as Lise is weeping for his absence, she suddenly sees a phantom clad in a long white veil. She recognizes her lover. He bids her follow him; and she is taken to a graveyard. She labors under the illusion that he is simply testing her love for him. They disappear in an underground passage and come to a hall in which there is an altar. Lise suggests that they should be married straightway. Thereupon, Julien tells her that he is dead and that they cannot think of marriage until death brings them together. At that moment the tomb closes with a great noise, and the young girl wakes up from her dream. The following day, she learns that her lover has been killed.

This subject which Berquin treated strictly according to the requirements of the literary taste of his country and wholly without originality, is most interesting. It has been impossible to find any direct source for Berquin's poem either in German or English literature. Yet, in spite of the inevitable rapprochement with *Lenora*, which it must suggest, it seems just as easy and as reasonable to link it with some unknown English prototype. The setting, with mist, a pale moon, the noise of torrents, a gloomy walk through the forest at night, the sight of tombs and phantoms, brings one very close to the churchyard poetry and the Gothic tale. Moreover, *Le Pressentiment* is

¹⁶ *Les Saisons* (Amsterdam, 1775, 7e édition), canto *L'Hiver*, verses 735-40. This passage in Saint-Lambert corresponds to verses 620-23 of Thomson's canto on *Winter* in his *Seasons*.

¹⁷ Berquin, *op. cit.*, 161.

¹⁸ "La troisième (pièce) est encore empruntée d'une Romance Anglaise, & le sujet est d'une atrocité qui aurait dû engager l'auteur à le rejeter" (*Œuvres*, Paris, 1778, Vol. VI, 375-76).

¹⁹ Berquin, *op. cit.*, 162.

²⁰ Berquin, éd. Levacher & Prieur, Paris, 1802, V, 259-61.

²¹ Cf. F. Baldensperger, "Lenore dans la Littérature française" (*Essais d'Histoire littéraire, livre série*, 1907, 147-75).

quite akin in spirit, if not in details, to some famous English ballads, especially to *Sweet William's Ghost*.

Such weird themes as those of *La Funeste Vengeance de la Jalousie* and *Le Pressentiment* were becoming very popular in France at that time. In the *Réflexions préliminaires* prefixed to his *Lettres d'une Chanoinesse de Lisbonne* (1770), Dorat had already pointed out this trend toward the violent and the strange:

"Aujourd'hui, si l'on veut procurer quelque plaisir, soit au lecteur, soit au spectateur, il faut leur donner des convulsions. Des effets, à quelque prix que ce soit, des effets et point de nature. *C'étoit bon autrefois*, pour me servir des expressions de Molière dans *le Médecin malgré lui*; mais les *Littérateurs modernes ont changé tout cela*. Le charbon de terre de Londres s'est joint aux brouillards de Paris. Il nous faut comme chez nos voisins, des massacres, des viols, des têtes de morts, des ombres encapuchonnées de leurs linceuls, toute la charge enfin de *Drury Lane*, pour ranimer des têtes plus vides encore qu'elles ne sont mélancoliques; car nous avons la prétention d'être tristes et nous ne sommes qu'ennuyés."²² What the French liked in Young, their most popular English poet at that time, was precisely the gloomy and visionary aspects of the *Night Thoughts*, which provided exciting reading after the dull and insipid lyrics of the day.²³ As for Goldsmith's *Hermite*, it satisfied the taste of the countless readers who relished the sentimental and pastoral genres. It is most natural that Berquin should have written such poems as *L'Hermite*, *La Funeste Vengeance de la Jalousie* and *Le Pressentiment*.

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ALFRED JARRY'S THEORIES OF DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

THE controversy aroused by Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi* centered, in 1896, when the play was first produced, about the scandal of the famous opening "mot" ("merdre"); and about the question of whether a play, which most critics considered inept as a play, could be rated as important because of the type, Père Ubu, which it created.¹ Years later (1921) a new controversy was opened by M. Charles Chassé, who claimed that Jarry himself had not written *Ubu Roi*, but that it was the work of the brothers Charles and Henri Morin, the latter of whom was a former schoolmate of Jarry's at the Lycée de Rennes.² The brothers Morin had informed M. Chassé of their alleged authorship, stating that when the play had been produced under the name of Jarry, they had not thought it worth claiming, but that they considered at the time that the whole affair was a huge joke on the literary world. The implications suggested by Chassé's work are that Jarry is known only for *Ubu Roi*; that he did not write *Ubu Roi*, but merely appropriated the work of two friends (making a few minor

²² *Lettres d'une Chanoinesse de Lisbonne à Melcour, Officier français, etc.*, Vol. VII of Dorat's *Œuvres*, Paris, Delalain, 1780, 25.

²³ Henri Potez, *L'Élégie en France avant le Romantisme*, Paris, 1898, 44.

¹ See, for instance, the review by Catulle Mendès (in his *L'Art au Théâtre*, 2me année, Paris, 1896, pp. 438-40).

² Chassé, *Sous le Masque d'Alfred Jarry in Les Sources d'Ubu Roi*, Paris, 1921.

alterations); and that, in any case, *Ubu Roi* is a work of no consequence. The defenders of Jarry expressed disbelief in M. Chassé's theories and brought up one or two facts to weaken them, but the statements of the Morins as presented by M. Chassé were categorical³ and Jarry (being dead) was not able to refute them or to present his side of the case which thus at first sight appeared rather weak.

What has been lost sight of in these controversies concerning *Ubu Roi*, is the fact that Jarry's principal interest in *Ubu Roi* was not in the play itself as a piece of dramatic writing, nor even in the establishing of the eternal type of Ubu, but in *Ubu Roi* as a production which was to be an experiment in a new dramatic technique. This phase of the question, ignored by the critics and the polemicists, is worth stressing.

In the autumn of 1894 Jarry made the acquaintance of Lugné-Poe, manager of the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, and began urging him to produce a play — either *Ubu Roi* or another work dealing with the adventures of Père Ubu, entitled *Les Polyèdres*.⁴ Lugné-Poe found interesting an unfinished version of *Ubu Roi* that Jarry showed him, but, as he says, he did not know "par quel bout prendre pour le réaliser à la scène."⁵ He was apparently much less interested in *Les Polyèdres*, which, on the other hand, Jarry seemed to prefer. At any rate the letters of Jarry to Lugné-Poe show that the author of *Ubu Roi* tried to convince the manager of the Œuvre of the interest of *Les Polyèdres* in spite of the latter's conviction that *Ubu Roi* would have more popular appeal: "... je ne vous ai parlé d'*Ubu Roi* que parce qu'il a l'avantage d'être accessible à la majorité du public. D'ailleurs, l'autre chose (*les Polyèdres*) sera prête et vous verrez qu'elle vaudra mieux..."⁶

But in that same letter in which he indicated that he was more interested in putting forward *Les Polyèdres* than *Ubu Roi*, he indicated as well that his principal interest was in presenting one of his works in such a way as to demonstrate certain of his ideas as to dramatic technique. In case Lugné-Poe definitely preferred *Ubu Roi*, Jarry proposed the following methods of presentation:

"Il serait curieux, je crois, de pouvoir monter cette chose (sans aucun frais, du reste) dans le goût suivant:

1° Masque pour le personnage principal, Ubu, lequel masque je pourrais vous procurer au besoin. Et puis je crois que vous vous êtes occupé vous-même de la question masques.

2° Une tête de cheval en carton qu'il se pendrait au cou, comme dans l'ancien théâtre anglais, pour les deux seules scènes équestres, tous détails qui étaient dans l'esprit de la pièce, puisque j'ai voulu faire un "guignol."

3° Adoption d'un seul décor, ou mieux, d'un fond uni, supprimant les levers et baissers de rideau pendant l'acte unique. Un personnage correctement vêtu viendrait, comme dans les guignols, accrocher une pancarte signifiant le lieu de la scène. (Notez que je suis certain de la supériorité

³ The book contains superficial trappings of erudition designed to fool the uncritical, but it is to be noted that there are no authentic documents to control the statements of Chassé. It is his word and that of Charles Morin against Jarry and his friends. And Jarry is not present to defend himself. See Fernand Lot's recent work on Jarry (Paris, 1934), pp. 44-46.

⁴ This has never been published complete. A part of it appears with the title "L'Auto-clète" in *Minutes de Sable mémorial* (pp. 25-35), and another part was published in "Les Paralipomènes d'Ubu," *Revue Blanche*, 11, 1896, pp. 489-93.

⁵ Lugné-Poe, *Acrobaties*, Paris, 1931, p. 160.

⁶ Lugné-Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 162 (Letter not dated, apparently early in 1895).

"suggestive" de la pancarte écrite sur le décor. Un décor, ni une figuration ne rendraient l'armée polonaise en marche dans l'Ukraine.)

4° Suppression des foules, lesquelles sont souvent mauvaises à la scène et gênent l'intelligence. Ainsi, un seul soldat dans la scène de la revue, un seul dans la bousculade où Ubu dit: "Quel tas de gens, quelle fuite, etc. . ."

5° Adoption d'un "accent" ou mieux d'une "voix" spéciale pour le personnage principal.

6° Costumes aussi peu couleur locale ou chronologique que possible (ce qui rend mieux l'idée d'une chose éternelle); modernes de préférence, puisque la satire est moderne; et sordides, parce que le drame en paraît plus misérable et plus horrible.

This rather detailed statement as to the way in which Jarry hoped *Ubu Roi* might be produced shows that the particular technical problem involved — that is, the production of a play by methods sharply opposed to the realistic or naturalistic technique of the day — was of considerable importance to him. The relatively scanty knowledge that we have of Jarry's youth includes the fact that in his teens, when he went to the Lycée de Rennes, he and his friends had given puppet shows, including some version of *Ubu Roi*.⁸ Here he is advocating the presentation of a play with living actors that shall retain some of the *guignol* technique: a single set or backdrop, with no lowerings or raisings of the curtain,⁹ the changes of scene to be indicated by signs brought in, and actors, acting and costumes extremely "stylized" and unrealistic; that is, use of a mask and a special tone of voice for the principal character, etc.

As the tumult that accompanied the presentation of *Ubu Roi* in December 1896 showed, it was not a very suitable vehicle for experiments in a new technique. The controversial character of the lines, the beginning with its celebrated *mot*, which the enemies of all innovation took as a challenge and an insult, and which the supporters of the new movements took as a cue to noisy and injudicious approval, all that combined to prevent any impartial judgment as to the value of *Ubu Roi* as an experiment. Since accounts of the performance stress the scandalous and controversial side, it is difficult to determine just how thoroughly the theories of Jarry were carried out. The version given was that in five acts, a version which undoubtedly contains amusing details not found in the one-act version, but which is choppy and drags in places.

All the indication that we have of the setting is that it followed more or less Jarry's original suggestions. In the center of the background was a black marble fireplace with a fire lighted in it. The fireplace was arranged so that it swung open in the middle and could serve as a door. All around was a vague, snowy Polish landscape. Apparently that was the only set, although Jarry, in the explanatory speech he made before the curtain went up, made the promise that the spectators would also see: "Des palmiers verdier au pied des lits afin que les broutent de petits éléphants perchés sur les étagères."¹⁰ We do not know

⁷ Lugné-Poe, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

⁸ See, for instance, Charlotte Jarry's recollections of her brother (Introduction to Jarry's *L'Amour absolu*, Paris, 1932, p. 42).

⁹ The version of *Ubu Roi* in question is that in one act, which was published by the *Mercur* in Sept. 1895 (probably shortly after Jarry had explained his theories to Lugné-Poe) and reprinted as the 3rd act, or "Acte terrestre" of *César-Antechrist*, published in October, 1895.

¹⁰ This speech of Jarry's has been reproduced several times. I am quoting from Rachilde's life of Jarry (Paris, 1928, p. 76).

whether signs were brought in to indicate changes of scene. As for the actors, we know that Gémier played Père Ubu and wore a cardboard mask.¹¹ Every one, including Jarry, seems to have been satisfied with his interpretation of the rôle. Although other accounts have not mentioned the fact, according to Jarry's above-mentioned speech, several other actors wore masks. The same speech indicates that Jarry's early idea of having cardboard horses for the horseback scenes was carried out. The actors were not attached to a string, to imitate the appearance of puppets;¹² it must have been decided that such an arrangement was impractical, but in other respects Jarry's idea of actors imitating the actions of puppets was carried out. For one scene a large number of wicker mannequins were used: they represented the nobles, financiers, etc., whom King Ubu caused to be thrown down through the trap door in the third act.

As we have said before, the question of Jarry's technical innovations, their value or interest, their possible implications, seems to have passed unnoticed. And that in spite of the fact that several months before, Jarry had published in the *Mercure de France* an article entitled "De l'inutilité du théâtre au théâtre" setting forth clearly his theories.¹³

Jarry began by stating that there were in the universe some five hundred people who were Shakespeares or Leonardos compared to the infinite mediocrity of the rest of the world, and that these five hundred persons found incomprehensible and useless two sorts of objects that encumber our stages: that is to say, the *setting* and the *actors*. He then proceeded to explain that the setting is hybrid, neither natural nor artificial, and, going so far as to reject expressionistic sets (which, after all, express the interpretation or artistic vision of the stage director and not of that of each member of an intelligent audience), and heraldic sets, with which he had experimented himself,¹⁴ concluded that a simple, unpainted backdrop is the best set. Accessories necessary for the action — windows that must be opened, doors to be smashed in — could be brought in, like tables or lamps, for the scenes in which they were needed, then removed.

In explaining the uselessness of actors (that is, actors of the conventional type) Jarry made some interesting observations. He pointed out that no matter how skillful at makeup he may be, an actor retains his own muscles and not those of the person he represents. There is no reason to suppose that Mounet had a zygomatic arch similar to that of Hamlet. Therefore the actor should use a mask which would definitely represent the eternal quality of the character he is playing. A mask can be used to produce the impression of varying emotions — for the light coming from the footlights strikes the surfaces of the mask in such a way as to produce shadows which can be given a considerable variety by slight movements of the head, up or down, to right or left. The gestures of these masked actors should be simple, stylized and eternal. Conventional gestures, in vogue at any given moment, but having no permanent value, should be avoided. (Jarry gives as an example of the conventional gesture:

¹¹ Jarry apparently was not satisfied with this mask. In his speech, he said: "Ubu n'a pas eu le temps d'avoir son masque véritable, d'ailleurs très incommode à porter" (*Op. cit.*, p. 73).

¹² Rachilde had suggested this in a letter to Lugné-Poe. See *Acrobaties*, p. 175.

¹³ *Mercure de France*, 19, 1896, pp. 469-73.

¹⁴ Jarry had been very much interested in heraldry. Several characters of *Ubu Roi* (Bordure, Pile, Cotice, Giron) have names taken from heraldic terms, and *César-Antechrist* is packed with heraldry.

making a vertical ellipse around the face with the hand and then kissing that end to express beauty suggesting love. As an example of a permanent, eternal gesture: a puppet expressing stupor by drawing back violently and cracking his head against the wings.) Finally, as he had done earlier, Jarry advocated a special voice, especially a monotonous voice, as the most suitable type to issue forth from the lips of a mask.¹⁵

These theories of Jarry's attracted no attention and aroused no comment. It is worth noting, however, that, in certain respects, they have some similarity to the doctrines of one of the most important of the theorists of the drama in the twentieth century, Gordon Craig. The doctrines which Craig began to make public about 1907,¹⁶ seem to be based, insofar as they concern setting and acting upon a general conception as to what the drama should be, similar to that of Jarry.

Craig did not advocate a simple, unpainted backdrop as set, but he did say that the most effective of all sets (for a tragedy, at least) was a vast and forbidding doorway.¹⁷ This idea had never occurred to Jarry, but he would probably have approved of it, for it is in line with the considerations as to setting which he expressed in "De l'inutilité du théâtre au théâtre." A set consisting of a great doorway, opening back into space, would not express the concept of an individual dramatist or director, but rather a universal concept, that would be more or less identical with that of each member of an intelligent audience.

But where Craig's theories come closest to those of Jarry is when he takes up the question of the actor. Just as Jarry advocated the suppression of the conventional actor, and advocated the use of masks and puppet gestures, so Craig said that the actor should be replaced by a sort of "über-marionette."¹⁸ What were the actors in *Ubu-Roi* to have been other than this? Had not Jarry said that *Ubu Roi* was a play written "pour des acteurs jouant en marionnettes"?¹⁹ It is true that Craig went somewhat farther than Jarry, for his "über-marionette" was to be actually a super puppet, an inanimate being, but in Craig's discussion of the limitations of actors, of the value of masks and the stylized acting of puppets, his reasoning followed along the same lines as that of Jarry, and he reached similar conclusions.

Jarry, however, was not to live to see the great theorist of the twentieth century theater expound and develop ideas similar to his own. It is possible that the reception accorded *Ubu Roi* discouraged its creator from trying to carry out his theories any further. Although he wrote other plays — *Ubu enchaîné*, *Par la taille* and *Le Moutardier du Pape* —, translated two plays —

¹⁵ Two other articles dealing with the presentation of *Ubu Roi* were written by Jarry at about this time ("Les Paralipomènes d'Ubu," *Revue Blanche*, 11, 1896, pp. 489-93, and "Questions de Théâtre," *Revue Blanche*, 12, 1897, pp. 16-18), but neither one was concerned with Jarry's theories of dramatic technique.

¹⁶ I have discovered no indication that Craig had ever heard of Jarry.

¹⁷ "A vast and forbidding doorway, I often think, still remains the best background for any tragedy" (Craig's note accompanying his own drawing of such a set for *Electra*, in *On the Art of the Theatre*, Chicago, 1912, p. xiv). Note that he drew a somewhat similar set for *Othello*, which he entitled "Scene for Othello—or Any Other Play" (See Rose, *Craig and the Theatre*, London, 1931, p. 90).

¹⁸ See, notably, *On the Art of the Theatre*, Chicago, 1912, pp. 14-94 (article written in 1907), and *passim* in Craig's works.

¹⁹ In his above-mentioned speech. See Rachilde's *Jarry*, p. 74.

Grabbe's *Silènes* and Töpffer's *L'Objet aimé* —, and wrote, with Eugène De-molder, the libretto of an opera, *Pantagruel*, his only direct connection with the stage in any form in his later years was with puppet shows.²⁰ *Ubu Roi* was given by the Théâtre des Pantins, run by Jarry and the composer Claude Terrasse, and, about 1901, an abbreviated form with amusing interpolations, called *Ubu sur la butte*, was given at the Cabaret des Quat'z Arts in Montmartre. Realizing that the public was not ready for performances by "über-marionnettes," Jarry had gone back to a form of art which he undoubtedly considered superior to the conventional stage of his day and, to use the words of Craig, went back to the only kind of actor "who has the soul of the dramatic poet, and who has ever served as true and loyal interpreter of the poet . . . the marionnette."²¹

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CAROLINGIAN TITLES IN THE SPANISH DRAMA BEFORE 1800: CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

LUDWIG, in the "Anhang" of his *Lope de Vegas Dramen aus dem karolingischen Sagenkreise* (Berlin, 1898, 149ff), prints a list of Carolingian works by dramatic writers other than Lope de Vega. The list is based upon La Barrera and Schaeffer and makes no pretense of being complete. Since the publication of Ludwig's thesis there have appeared, not only editions of plays, but also catalogues of various sorts and numerous monographs. The present additions and corrections are indebted to all these sources, and, so to speak, bring Ludwig's list up to date, allowing, of course, for whatever titles may have escaped my notice.

It would be pointless to set down all the bibliographical data that have accumulated since 1898. I shall merely confine myself to essentials and include: I) New titles for Lope himself; II) Supplementary information for some of the titles given by Ludwig in the above-mentioned "Anhang"; III) New titles, A) of known authorship, and B) of unknown authorship.

I. New Titles for Lope

La locura por la honra: Acad. N., VII; cf. "Prólogo", xvi-xviii. The *auto* of the same name (Acad., II), although derived from the *comedia*, may scarcely be called Carolingian.

El premio de la hermosura: Acad., XIII; discussed by Ludwig in *Lope de Vega als Schüler Ariosts* (*Festschrift Adolf Tobler* . . . , Braunschweig, 1905, 261-262).

La puente del mundo: Acad., II; an *auto sacramental*.

Los yerros por amor: Attributed to Lope; the title is Carolingian, but the plot is unrelated (Acad. N., X; cf. *The Exculpation of "Yerros por*

²⁰ According to the *Almanach des Spectacles* for 1902, *Ubu Roi* was performed that year, in some form or other, at the Nouveau Théâtre. I do not know whether Jarry had anything to do with this performance.

²¹ Craig, *The Theatre Advancing*, London, 1921, p. 107.

Amores" in the Spanish Comedia, in *Pub. Univ. Cal. at Los Angeles in Lang. and Lit.*, Berkeley, 1933, note 15).¹

II. Supplementary Information for Titles Given by Ludwig

Aguilar, *El conde Grimaldos*: Menéndez y Pelayo (*Tratado de los romances viejos*, II, 422, n. 1) wonders if this is not the Valencian Gaspar de Aguilar; Medel del Castillo, on the other hand, assigns a play of this name (*Conde Grimaltos*) to Francisco de Aguilar ("Índice general", *Rev. hisp.*, LXXV, 167).

Bances Candamo, *Cómo se curan los celos y Orlando furioso*: An arreglo of this zarzuela has evidently been preserved in the MS *Carácter de los afectos humanos y Orlando furioso*, the first jornada of which has been lost (Bib. Nac., MS 16329; Paz y Melia, no. 497).

Guillén de Castro, *El conde de Irlas*: Now accessible in Juliá's edition of Guillén de Castro's *Obras* (Madrid, 1925, I); also preserved in a MS of the 17th century (Bib. Nac., MS 16823; Paz y Melia, no. 669), which contains a considerable number of variants from the printed edition. Since the words "De Cubillo" are written on both the cover and the first page of the MS, it has been incorrectly attributed to Cubillo, but the writing is different from that of the MS proper. Juliá does not mention it in the "Observaciones preliminares" of his edition, although Cotarelo had already rectified the error (*Dramáticos españoles del siglo XVII: Alvaro Cubillo de Aragón*, Madrid, 1918, 37, n. 2). A curious fact is that the words "en la villa de Madrid a 23 de junio de 1614" have been inserted between the second and third acts of the play; however, the writing is similar but apparently different from that employed in the body of the MS.

Baltasar Diaz, *Tragedia do Marquez de Mantua e do Emperador Carlos Magno*: Menéndez y Pelayo wonders (*Tratado*, II, 396; *Obras de Lope*, Acad. ed., XIII, xcvi) if this is not "un tosco bosquejo o una derivación vulgar" of Lope's *El marqués de Mantua*, but C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos has shown that it was represented before 1563, and written as early as 1537ca. (*Estudos sobre o romanceiro peninsular: Romances velhos em Portugal*, in *Cultura española*, 1908, IX-X, 127-128; 1909, XIII-XIV, 458).

Quiñones de Benavente, *Don Gaiferos y las busconas de Madrid*: Added by Farinelli to Ludwig's list (*Arch. Stud. neu. Spr. u. Lit.*, CII, 459), but it has nothing to do with the Gaiferos ballads, as Menéndez y Pelayo has observed (*Tratado*, II, 386, n. 3).

Bradamante y Rugero: This is the danza called *El Rugero*, or more commonly, *La gallarda*; printed in Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses*, no. 204. Cf. *ibid.*, I, ccxlviii-ccxlixa, and *RFE*, XIX, 292-293.

¹ The *entremés* of Melisendra (Ludwig, 116-117) seemingly has been preserved in the *código colombine* utilized by Adolfo de Castro (*Varias obras inéditas de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1874, p. 10, no. 8; v. Cotarelo, *El teatro de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1915, 739; cf., however, La Barrera's note in Sbarbi, *Monografía sobre los refranes...*, Madrid, 1891, "Catálogo", p. 167, col. 1). The *entremés* is accessible in a modern edition (Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses...*, no. 25), and is preserved, with divergencies from the printed edition, in two MSS of the Biblioteca Nacional (Paz y Melia, nos. 2885 and 2133).

III. New Titles, A) of Known Authorship

Tomás de Añorbe y Corregel, *La encantada Melisendra y piscator de Toledo, Comedias* (II, Madrid, 1738). Carolingian?

Juan Bautista de Villegas, *La morica garrida*: Printed in *Escogidas* (part VII, 1654); preserved in a possibly autographic MS (Pas y Melia, no. 2205). Belongs here insofar as it is partially based upon the ballads of Moriana and Galván (Durán, nos. 7-11), which are related to the Gaiferos group (*Tratado*, II, 387-388; Ortiz, "El Romance de Moriana", *ZfRPb*, LI, 1931, 719-720).

Calderón, Rojas Zorrilla, and Coello, *El jardín de Falerina*: A comedia which is to be distinguished from the zarzuela and *auto sacramental* of the same name but written by Calderón alone (cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXI, 35-36).

Guillén de Castro, *El desengaño dichoso*: Utilizes material from the *Orlando Furioso*; accessible in Juliá's edition.

Id., *Quien malas mañas ha, tarde o nunca las perderá*: Published by Juliá in RABM, 1916, and in the *Obras*; for the sources, cf. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, 600-601; Juliá, "Observaciones preliminares"; and RFE, XVI, 273-276.

Antonio Guerrero, *Las niñeces de Roldán*: Listed among his *obras musicales* (Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, I, 342b). The text is probably that of the play by Rojo and Villegas.

Blas de Laserna, *La encantada Melisendra*: Listed among his *obras musicales* (Subirá, *op. cit.*, 361b). Is this Carolingian? Related to Añorbe's *La encantada Melisendra*?

Id., *Hado y divisa*: Likewise among his *obras musicales* (Subirá, *ibid.*). The text is probably that of Calderón's *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa*.

Mira de Amescua, *El conde Alarcos*: Utilizes material that is more or less Carolingian: King Louis weds Blancaflor, but Alarcos is said to be the son of the Conde de Irlas, and the suitor of the nefarious *Infanta* is the Marqués de Mantua (!).

Pérez de Montalbán, *El caballero del Febo*: An *auto* which belongs here only because of two characters — Astolfo and Montesinos. The latter represents John the Baptist, as in Vélez de Guevara's *Auto de la Mesa Redonda*. For a plot-summary, cf. Alenda, *Catálogo de autos sacramentales...* (BAE, III, 578-579); for the question of authorship, Bacon, *The Life and Dramatic Works of Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalbán* (Rev. hisp., 1912, 435-436), and Cotarelo, *Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla*, 244.

Francisco de Sandoval, *El rigor basta la muerte: Hechos de Bernardo y crueldades del casto rey D. Alfonso*: Contains the battle of Roncesvalles, but whether Carolingian characters appear is not made clear in R. Mitterer, *Die Sage von Bernardo del Carpio im spanischen Drama des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1930, 81-84.).

Vélez de Guevara, *Auto de la Mesa Redonda*: Also entitled *La Mesa Redonda y el divino Carlomagno* (Paz y Melia, no. 2153). A modern edition has recently appeared in the *Serie escogida de autores españoles* (IX, Madrid, 1931).

III. New Titles, B) of Unknown Authorship

El castigo en la arrogancia: An insipid burlesque of three *jornadas* containing Carolingian and Moorish characters (Bib. Nac., MS 16733; Paz y Melia, no. 537). The "plot" consists of the threats of Alazán to conquer France and wrest Paris from the Emperor, in the ultimate discomfiture of the invader at the hands of Reinaldos and Montesinos, and in the capture (and re-capture) of Zaida. A considerable number of ballad-lines—both Carolingian and otherwise—have been interpolated in both the *comedia* and the accompanying *loa burlesca*, in which characters from the *comedia* appear.

Cata Francia, Montesinos: Listed (no. 52) in the *Primera parte de las comedias viejas de los mejores ingenios de la corte, recogidas por el padre prior de S. Gerónimo en el año 1666* (Restori, "Fragments de Théâtre espagnol: une Liste de Comédies de l'An 1666", in *Revue des Langues romanes*, 1898, I).

Conde Claros: A baile mentioned in Lope's *La villana de Jetafe* (Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses* . . . , I, ccxxxix). Is it related to the *baile* of the same name by Moreto?

Danza de don Gaiferos y rescate de Melisendra: An entry of Pérez Pastor for the year 1609. Rodríguez Marín, in transcribing this *danza de cascabel*, conjectures that Cervantes may have witnessed it and received therefrom the idea of utilizing the subject in the famous *retablo de Maese Pedro* (*Quijote*, 1928, V, 48, n.).

Entremés de Durandarte y Belerma: Known to me only through Adolfo de Castro (*op. cit.*, p. 11, no. 10), who states that "parece ser obra del Doctor D. Antonio Mira de Amescua. No está citado en catálogo alguno."

El furioso: A danza mentioned in Lope's *El maestro de danzar* (Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses* . . . , I, ccxlvib).

Galán Gerineldos: Mentioned in Restori, *Piezas de títulos de comedias* (Messina, 1903, 161, n. 1, and 191, l. 108).

Moxiganga/de Don Gaiferos/Entremes de la Presumida: Thus on the first folio of this MS composition (Bib. Nac., 14090; Paz y Melia, no. 3997), and followed by "Soy de Pedro de Alcantara/Soy de Juan Francisco de Molina/Entremes famoso de Gaiferos." Who Pedro de Alcántara was I do not know, but Juan Francisco de Molina may have been the actor Juan Francisco (Rennert, *The Spanish Stage* . . . , 476). Barbieri, who copied the MS, states at the beginning that the piece belonged to the repertory of Juan de Castro Salazar. The composition is different from the *entremés de Melisendra*, and contains many more lines from the ballad (*Antología*, IX, no. 173).

Mudanza: "6 abril 1584. Obligación de Diego Granado, el viejo, y de su hijo, Juan Granado, de hacer mudanza (Radamante [*sic*], Reinaldos, Roldán, Oliveros y Montesinos) . . ." (Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, 15-16).

Orlando el furioso: Known to me only through Restori (*op. cit.*, 167, n. 2, and 187, l. 55).

Rescate del alma: Described by C. G. Allen in *The "Comedia que trata del rescate del alma" and the "Gayferos" Ballads*, in *Flügel Memorial Volume* (Stanford Univ., 1916); reviewed in *RFE*, 1919, 198.

Las travesuras de Roldán: Known to me only through Restori (*op. cit.*, 167, n. 2, and 203, n. 4). Is this Lope's *La mocedad de Roldán*?

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ALGO SOBRE LA FORTUNA DE JUAN DE FLORES

TIENE intercalado en su quinta última égloga la poco conocida novela pastoril *Tragedias de amor, de gustoso, y apacible entretenimiento* del Licenciado Juan Arze Solorzeno (cuya primera edición es la de Madrid de 1607)¹ un relato novelístico, contado por uno de los personajes de la trama pastoril, "que es historia muy extraordinaria y antigua" que había leído el autor "en quatro lenguas, Francesa, Italiana, Castellana e Inglesa..." Comienza así: "En la Isla de Escocia huuo en tiēpos passados vn valeroso Rey dotado de grandes virtudes, y en particular de la justicia que en el respládezia, de madera (*error de imprenta por manera*) q la antigüedad no conocio otro q le igualasse, ni de los venideros, entiendo que aurà quien sepa imitarle."

Esta primera frase ya denota a las claras que aquí se trata de una refundición de la novelita *Grisel y Mirabella* de Juan de Flores. El Licenciado Arze habrá conocido una de las ediciones en cuatro lenguas que en la última mitad del siglo XVI y en los primeros decenios del XVII se usaban en cualidad de "Sprachlehrnovelle." Probablemente le habrá servido la edición de Amberes de 1556 descrita por Miss Barbara Matulka.² El texto como va intercalado en la novela de Arze difiere bastante (parece muy abreviado) del de la edición cuadrilingüe de Amberes (1556), cuyas primeras páginas figuran reproducidas en facsímil en la citada obra de Miss Matulka.³

La historia se interrumpe en el momento de ir a sentenciar los jueces. Promete Arze dar la continuación en la segunda parte de su novela, que sin embargo, que yo sepa, nunca llegó a publicarse.

Es muy natural que no haga mención Arze del primitivo autor de la novelita, ya que por entonces se había perdido la noción de su origen, considerándose como texto original la traducción italiana de Lelio Aletiphilo, siendo el texto español mera traducción del italiano.⁴ No hay que decir que los nombres de los protagonistas no son los originalmente empleados por Juan de Flores sino los usados por el traductor italiano.

Ya que ni Rennert en su *The Spanish Pastoral Romances* ni Barbara Matulka en su obra citada señalan esta influencia de la en aquellos tiempos tan universalmente conocida novelita, no me ha parecido inoportuno apuntarla aquí.⁵

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¹ Yo poseo un ejemplar de la edición de Zaragoza, "Por la viuda de Pedro Verges. Año M. DC. XXXXVII, edición mencionada por Gallardo (*Ensayo*, I, pág. 264) y citada por H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Philadelphia, 1912, pág. 159, nota 1.

² *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion*, New York, s. a., 1931, pág. 474-475.

³ *Ibidem*, pág. 176.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pág. 177.

⁵ Las *Tragedias de amor* de Arze Solorzeno, por fastidiosa que sea su lectura, merecen estudiarse por su carácter netamente alegórico, señalado por Rennert (*Spanish Pastoral Romances*, pág. 160) pero sin dedicarle la atención debida a este hecho curioso, raro en la literatura pastoril, que incita a comparaciones con la transcripción a lo divino de la *Diana* de Montemayor por Fray Bartolomé Ponce (1582) y con *Los pastores de Belén* (1612) de Lope. Las descripciones del templo de Apolo y de la casa de la Muerte (primera Egloga) recuerdan vagamente las de la *Cárcel de Amor* (Diego de San Pedro) y del *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre, Espejo de religiosos* (Salamanca, 1580). Véase mi artículo *Nederlandsche Vertalingen van werken van Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza* en *Tijdschrift voor Taal en Letteren*, 1929, pág. 93-113.

REVIEWS

THE LEGEND OF THE "BETROTHED TO THE HOLY VIRGIN"

A. Wyrembek and J. Morawski, *Les Légendes du "Fiancé de la Vierge" dans la Littérature médiévale*, Posen, 1934, 59 pp.

This treatise is not—as its title may lead one to suppose—a complete survey of all the medieval texts that narrate the story of the "Marienbräutigam," the "Fiancé de la Vierge"; it is rather a synthesis and clarification of the known material, enriched by seven hitherto unpublished French versions. The numerous texts of this wide-spread branch of the Mary-legends, previously studied or mentioned by scholars (cf. A. Poncelet, *Miraculorum B. V. Marie* (1902); A. Mussafia, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden* (1887-1898); Gonzalo de Berceo's *Los milagros de Nuestra Señora*, published by A. Hämel (1926); as well as other collections of *Miracles de Nostre Dame*), have in common one fundamental theme, upon which, of course, many variants have been embroidered: a man renounces his bride, or the lady he reveres, or any other earthly love, to become betrothed to the Queen of Heaven.

The best known form of this legend is that describing the adventures of the Cleric of Pisa, of which this study brings a new text of the 13th century: *Dou chanoine qui disoit les bores Nostre Dame qui se maria* (164 vv). Here a cleric, highly devoted to the Holy Virgin, consents, on the insistence of his parents, to marry. During the bridal feast, or just after the Mass, he remembers that he has not yet said his nones prayers. He enters the chapel where the Virgin appears to him and reproaches him bitterly for having forsaken her for another. The remorseful cleric abandons his bride that very night, and takes refuge in a hermitage. This popular story, which occurs in a great number of versions (cf. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, No. 15; the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par Personnages*, No. 19; Gautier de Coinci; a number of Latin MSS.; etc.), is occasionally linked to a cleric of Rome instead of one of Pisa. The authors have found evidence to indicate that the Rome-version is very probably the older one. It is already found in one of the homilies of the Venerable Bede,—the oldest known text.

Other versions became more complicated, either by a desire for more convincing motivation for Our Lady's interference,—as when the cleric is said to have made a vow of chastity previously,—or by contamination and even intentional borrowings from other legends,—as when the cleric is suddenly transported through the air by the Holy Virgin to a desert to lead a holy life. The vow of chastity, for instance, is found in the story of the "Son of the King of Hungary," which is but a transposition of that of the Cleric of Pisa (cf. A. Mussafia, *Studien* . . . , I, 931; Graesse's edition of the *Legenda aurea* of Vorigine, p. 870).

In contrast to his taking of the vow of chastity, in other versions the cleric is represented as a licentious and riotous sinner, who falls in love with a noble lady and has recourse to the devil in order to win her. The devil demands that he renounce God and the Holy Virgin, but he refuses, and at last Satan is placated by a mere homage. Through diabolical help, the youth wins the girl, but on his wedding day the Holy Virgin appears to him as a reward for his refusal to deny her, and warns him to forego his marriage. A bishop relieves him of his vows. To this series of tales the authors have contributed a prose version: *D'ung clerc qui s'oblige au diable pour parvenir à l'amour d'une pucelle*.

To another, and even more developed and wide-spread form of the legend, the authors have added two new texts: *C'est de l'aventure au chevalier* (13th century, 336 vv.) and *Le miracle du chevalier* (13th-14th century, 122 vv.). A knight falls in love with a haughty lady who refuses him. He asks counsel of a hermit, who orders him to say a number of Ave Marias every day for a whole year—5, 100, or 150, according to the version. On the last day of the year the knight, hunting in a forest, enters a ruined chapel to fulfill his vow for the last time. Suddenly the Virgin appears to him in all her splendor, and summons him to choose between her and his insensitive adored one (in some versions she even asks him for a kiss as a pledge of betrothal). Without hesitation, he becomes the "serving knight" of the Celestial Queen, and goes to a hermitage, where he dies a year later, when the Holy Virgin carries his soul to Paradise. Though in some respects this version differs from that of the Cleric of Pisa, the fundamental themes,—those of the mystic betrothal and the abandonment of earthly love,—remain the same. It is true that the knight does not forsake his wife, but only gives up a lady who had already refused him, yet this haughty beauty theme, as well as the change in setting (hunting, etc.), can be sufficiently explained by the substitution of a knight for the cleric of earlier tales. However, the authors seem to overstress somewhat the necessity of explaining the hunting incident. They find a parallel (p. 10) with the legend of St. Eustache (and we may add that of St. Julian, St. Hubert, etc.) who, while hunting in a forest, meets a deer that exhorts him to become a Christian. It seems hardly necessary to find a literary replica for so simple an incident as a knight going hunting.

An interesting transformation of the same mystical betrothal theme is found in the stories in which the marriage promise is made to the *statue* of the Virgin, not to the Celestial Queen herself. One form, which is derived from the *Lives of the Fathers*, and which has been paraphrased by Jehan Mielot, narrates how the young son of a lord was addressed one day by Mary's statue in his private chapel. After a somewhat amorous dialogue, the youth kisses her hand twice, and promises never to marry. When he is later forced by his father to take a wife, he runs off in such haste that he falls down the stairs and is killed. At that moment the Holy Virgin and her retinue of angels appear, to lead the soul of the pious youth to Paradise. An unpublished version by Jean le Conte, *De celui qui fiança la Virge Marie*, is here reproduced. The interesting point in this rather simple legend, is the motive of the speaking image, which is still more stressed in the legend of the Mary "Statue and the Ring": A young man declares his love to the statue of the Holy Virgin and slips on its finger a ring which he had received from his betrothed,—or he does so out of mockery. The

stone Virgin bends her finger so that the ring cannot be removed. Although witnesses counsel him to enter Mary's service, he does not obey, and marries. However, at night, Mary appears to him in a dream, to reproach him for his infidelity. It even seems to him that the statue lies between him and his wife. He flees and becomes a hermit. The authors have printed two short *résumés* of this story,—one by Jean le Conte and the other by Robert, author of the *Trésor de l'âme*. In the first of these the statue, with the ring on its finger, actually comes to lie between the cleric and his bride; in the second, the Virgin Mary herself fulfills the function of the image. This jealous conduct of the Virgin seems to prove the derivation of this story from a late Roman legend (10th or 11th century?), which William of Malmesbury reported in the 12th century. Here we find a young man slipping a ring on the finger of a statue of Venus, "la jalouse." She shows herself to be "toute entière à sa proie attachée," and appears in the night to reclaim her rights as his spouse until she is exorcized by a holy man, Palumbus.

The authors are inclined to minimize the theory of the pagan origin of the mystic betrothal theme, and one must concede that many of the parallels adduced by Günter (*Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, 1910), are vague and inconclusive. We may also agree that the jealousy of the Virgin, in which Günter saw the nucleus of the "Fiancé de la Vierge" theme, is but a concomitant in most of the versions here described. However, in the last version, that of the "Statue and the Ring," the Virgin shows a jealousy of so definite a character, that she seems to bear the characteristics of Venus rather than those of the Immaculate Conception. This short study brings us a valuable synthesis and tabulation of an interesting branch of the Mary legends in several countries. We miss, however, in the bibliography, the work of I. de Vooys, *Middelnederlandsche Maria-Legenden*. The new texts here printed are valuable for the interlinking of the various transpositions of this wide-spread theme.

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DECLIN ET RENAISSANCE DE LA POÉSIE (1400-1550)

N. Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, London, 1929.

Ce livre se compose de deux parties, l'une de 180 pages, l'autre de 148. Le tout est précédé d'une introduction de LXVIII pages. L'auteur publie d'abord le texte français de 250 pièces (*balades, virelays, rondeaux, bergerettes, huitains, dizains*), et, plus loin, la traduction anglaise. M. Wallis nous fait part, dans l'avant-propos, de l'intention qui l'a guidé. De même que Gaston Paris, en publiant les *Chansons du XV^e Siècle* (Paris, 1875) à l'aide d'un ms. de la Bibliothèque Nationale, nous a permis de nous rendre compte de la poésie anonyme du XV^e siècle, de même M. Wallis désire, nous dit-il, nous présenter une anthologie de pièces d'un caractère semblable qu'il a trouvées au British Museum (principalement dans le ms. *Add. 15224*).

Le but que Gaston Paris s'était proposé, c'était de réhabiliter en quelque sorte la poésie populaire et d'en montrer l'importance pour la littérature comparée. Les *folkloristes* s'efforçaient alors d'expliquer l'origine de la poésie en accordant au génie du peuple un pouvoir créateur spontané et intrinsèque. L'un

des caractères principaux de littérature de tradition orale, c'est d'être anonyme; mais les chants d'amour publiés par Gaston Paris ne semblent, pourtant, rien devoir à l'art populaire. Aussi bien, il me paraît qu'il ne faut pas faire de distinctions trop tranchées entre la littérature aristocratique et savante d'une part et celle qui ne l'est pas.

Il ne faut pas s'en laisser imposer non plus par ce qu'on a appelé la "tradition littéraire et pédagogique." Les poètes ont dû parfois se servir de recueils qui contenaient maximes, proverbes et citations, ou même ils n'ont fait bien souvent que recueillir des expressions qui s'étaient répandues dans le peuple.

J'ai remarqué trois pièces du recueil de G. Paris dans les *Albums de Marguerite d'Autriche* (LXXXVIII, XCVII, CII) et cela confirme ce que je viens de dire sur les relations étroites qui existent entre la littérature de tradition orale et celle de tradition écrite. Je ne peux m'empêcher non plus de protester contre cette phrase de Mlle Droz et de M. Piaget:¹ "*Le Jardin de Plaisance* était destiné au grand public de la classe moyenne qui, sans doute, préférerait la langue de tous les jours et les vieux thèmes aux nouveautés incompréhensibles de Molinet, Cretin et autres." Outre que le *Jardin* contient justement des pièces de Molinet, de Cretin, de Meschinot, d'André de la Vigne et d'autres rhétoriciens, on trouve ce recueil dans la bibliothèque de la gouvernante des Pays-Bas, fille de Maximilien et tante de Charles Quint, dont j'ai déjà parlé. On voit donc que les grands seigneurs, beaucoup plus que la "classe moyenne", recherchaient des œuvres littéraires telles que celles qu'un libraire à la mode, Antoine Vérard, avaient réunies dans le *Jardin*.

M. Wallis a écrit une introduction de deux pages pour parler de la littérature de 1400 à 1550. C'est dire tout de suite qu'on ne peut s'attendre à rien trouver ici qui puisse retenir l'attention. Un traitement aussi superficiel d'un ensemble aussi vaste et aussi complexe ne nous apporte que des banalités. Qu'on voie dans le XV^e siècle et dans le commencement du XVI^e une rencontre du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance, soit, mais ce que est important, c'est de se représenter comment se fait le passage des siècles de "ténèbres" à ceux de "lumière"; il est nécessaire de bien se rendre compte que le passé ne meurt pas subitement et que le monde moderne est le résultat d'une longue préparation; on doit se rappeler enfin que beaucoup de caractères médiévaux se trouvent dans tout le XVI^e siècle.

Ce qui distingue cette période de transition, c'est l'artifice et le mensonge. En musique, les contrapuntistes sont trop habiles et ils font souvent illusion par le vide intérieur de leurs compositions. En architecture, on ne comprend plus la technique de la construction; c'est le règne de la contre-courbe; "la structure perd son sens et acquiert une valeur de décor".² Le dérèglement est tel dans l'art de bâtir qu'on remarque dans les édifices d'alors "une étrange déviation du sens des fonctions sous un besoin despotique de l'effet". Devant l'église de Brou, A. Gide est surtout frappé par le caractère factice de "l'art-parure" dont témoigne ce monument: "Eglise de Brou. Surcharge; luxe inutile et cosmopolite. . . Rien de moins spirituel que l'ornementation de Brou. Très beau néanmoins, mais profane. La préciosité commence avec la dépense inutile."³

¹ *Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique*, II, Paris, 1924, 320.

² H. Pirenne, G. Cohen, H. Focillon, *Histoire du Moyen Age*, VIII, Paris, 1933.

³ A. Gide, *Divers*, Paris, 1931, p. 52.

Tout indique le dépérissement et le déclin. L'art s'étiole en se séparant du peuple et de la vie; il n'est plus la manifestation d'une émotion réelle, il ne correspond plus à une foi profonde et solide; il devient le passe-temps des amateurs. Quant aux professionnels, leur position de quémendeur et de courtisan les oblige à composer laborieusement des chants de joie ou de deuil où n'entre rien de vécu. L'homme individuel n'est pas encore libéré, et les mensonges de la civilisation obligent les fortes personnalités à jouer un rôle, voilà pourquoi on trouve alors des hypocrites monstrueux. Ce qu'on distingue dans la littérature d'alors, c'est, dans l'ensemble, le factice et le conventionnel. Tout s'est écarté de la vie, s'est abstrait et généralisé. Mais le signe des temps, c'est l'ironie ou tout au moins la raillerie qui apparaît ici et là. La parodie prépare la révolte.

Le système économique va se transformer. Une nouvelle idéologie prendra naissance. Vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle, on remarquera dans les lettres un élément tumultueux qui bientôt, d'ailleurs, se calmera. Il faudra ensuite attendre jusqu'à Jean-Jacques Rousseau pour retrouver l'humanisme. C'est avec Rousseau et avec Diderot que la littérature se fortifiera comme elle l'avait fait avec Rabelais en reprenant contact avec la terre. Le *moi* s'introduira dans les écrits; on recherchera la sincérité et la simplicité, non, d'ailleurs, sans emphase.

Voilà en quoi réside, me semble-t-il, l'originalité de la période qui nous occupe. Si on comprend que c'est justement là, dans l'irréel, l'artifice et le mensonge, qu'il faut voir la marque de ces années de passage, on ne discutera plus pour savoir si les auteurs de ce temps sont "grands" ou ne le sont pas. On verra que ce sont des écrivains de transition auxquels il ne faut pas demander ce que leur époque ne pouvait leur fournir. Qu'on se plaise à remarquer dans les compositions de ce moyen-âge finissant des vers gracieux et aimables, ou d'autres, satiriques, pleins de verve et de sel (et c'est la poésie libre qui est la plus intéressante de toute l'œuvre des rhétoriciens), soit, mais je crois qu'il est téméraire de parler de sentiments personnels et vrais. Aussi la note dont M. Wallis fait précéder la seconde partie de son livre me paraît-elle assez insignifiante.⁴

Je trouve, dans le recueil de M. Wallis, deux rondeaux des *Albums de Marguerite d'Autriche* (LXXVII, CXVII); deux autres se rapprochent de vers des *Albums* (XCVII, CLII).

L'incipit *A l'heure que premier vous veiz* est, d'après Lachèvre,⁵ le même que celui d'un rondeau de la *Chasse et le Départ d'Amours*; les incipit *A vous me plaint dame de grant valeur* et *Tremblez pecheurs suivans mondains plaisirs* correspondent à deux pièces du recueil intitulé *Le joyeux devis recreatif de l'esprit trouble* (Cf. Lachèvre, *o. c.*, p. 50). Le premier vers *Fortune laisse moy la vie* est mentionné par E. Droz et G. Thibault⁶ comme appartenant à une pièce du *ms. Wolfenbüttel*. Le rondeau *Non mudera*, composé sur la devise d'Anne de Bretagne, a été publié par E. Droz et G. Thibault.⁷ Le rondeau *Allez regret vuydes de ma presence* a été publié aussi par E. Droz et G. Thibault dans *Poètes et Musiciens* . . . ; le texte littéraire de ce rondeau paraît avoir été

⁴ "No claim is made that the verses in this collection deserve the title of great poetry; although not a few have a sincerity of emotion and expression too often absent from the poetry of their period" (p. 2).

⁵ F. Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs de Poésies du XVI^e Siècle*, Paris, 1922.

⁶ E. Droz, G. Thibault, Y. Rokseth, *Trois Chansonniers français du XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1927.

⁷ *Poètes et Musiciens du XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1924.

composé par Jean II duc de Bourbon († 1488), tandis que Hayne écrivit la musique.

Examinons maintenant le texte de ces pièces; et, pour cela, prenons par exemple le rondeau *Allez, regretz, vuydies de ma presence*. M. Wallis comprend *presente*, puis *gutui* tandis que je lis *presence* dans le ms. 1719 de la B. N. et *querir* dans le ms. 11239 de Bruxelles. A *suiteur*; une sans p quay aymee de-
sence; *Qu est; pl q car, par maron science*, correspondent dans mon édition: *serviteur; une sans per que j'ay aymee d'enfance; Ou est; plus, car, par ma con-
science*. Mlles E. Droz et G. Thibault ont lu comme moi; et leur texte, qui repose sur plusieurs mss., est semblable au mien. La traduction anglaise est si éloignée du texte français qu'on ne peut se rendre compte du sens que M. Wallis prête à ce rondeau du XV^e siècle.

Le rondeau *Non mudera* offre les différences que voici entre les leçons du recueil *Anonymous French Verse* et celles de *Poètes et Musiciens du XV^e Siècle*: M. Wallis publie les vers suivants:

*Car tout ainsi que les cieulx . . .
Ne pour bon heur je ne me liesse . . .
De mon amour au vous*

Mlles E. Droz et G. Thibault adoptent le texte ci-dessous:

*Car tout ainsi que es cieulx . . .
Ne pour bon heur je ne me lieve . . .
De mon amour aux bons . . .*

Aucun commentaire n'est nécessaire, sinon que les mss. que M. Wallis avait à sa disposition doivent être d'une écriture bien difficile à lire!

Une question mérite aussi quelque attention. C'est le refrain. On sait que les mss. n'indiquent souvent les refrains que par leurs premiers mots; aussi est-il, parfois, difficile de reconstituer le refrain tel qu'il était; il arrive, mais non pas toujours, que le sens permette de décider.

Apparemment M. Wallis a simplement copié le ms. dont il s'occupait, sans chercher à se rendre compte s'il fallait choisir le refrain complet ou le rentrement. Aussi ne sommes-nous pas surpris de trouver, dans la même pièce, tantôt une, tantôt plusieurs syllabes de rentrement. Le rondeau *Mon seul plaisir*, par exemple, est imprimé avec les deux premières syllabes du premier vers après la seconde strophe et avec quatre syllabes après la troisième strophe. Le rondeau *Je crois qu'il n'est point tel plaisir* a pour rentrements: *Je crois qu'il et Je crois qu'il n'est*. Dans la pièce CCXIX se lisent *Las et Las je ne scay*; le rondeau CCXX nous donne *Mon et Mon treschier*. Les mêmes remarques doivent se faire pour les rondeaux CCXXIII, CCXXIV, CCXXVI, CCXXXI, CCXL. Je puis dire que ce n'est pas le sens de la phrase qui justifie un tel procédé.

Il y a, pourtant, là, un problème qui veut être étudié. J'ai été frappé, en effet, de trouver un rondeau de Marot cité par M. Villey⁸ avec, pour refrain après la deuxième strophe, le premier vers de huit syllabes tout entier, tandis que M. Villey n'a employé que quatre syllabes pour le deuxième refrain. Récemment, M. le Comte Carton de Wiart⁹ citait deux rondeaux des *Albums de Marguerite d'Autriche*. Ces deux pièces de vers de huit syllabes sont imprimées avec des rentrements de longueurs différentes. Ils comprennent quatre syllabes

⁸ P. Villey, *Marot et Rabelais*, Paris, 1923, p. 56.

⁹ Comte Carton de Wiart, *Marguerite d'Autriche*, Paris, 1935, pp. 201-203.

après la deuxième et huit syllabes après la troisième strophe. Dans ces exemples encore, je ne vois pas que la pensée s'exprime d'une façon plus complète ou plus satisfaisante par l'emploi de ces rentrements inégaux.

Aussi bien, M. Wallis publie un rondeau (CCXXXVI) sans aucun refrain après la deuxième strophe. Pour cette pièce, dont j'ai consulté plusieurs mss., je lis le même refrain après la deuxième et après la troisième strophe (Cf. *Albums* ...).

Je ferai remarquer aussi que, pour les rondeaux qu'il a publiés, G. Raynaud¹⁰ a, au besoin, rétabli un refrain après la deuxième strophe quand celle-ci n'en avait point. Quand le refrain se compose seulement du premier vers, c'est toujours ce vers qui est répété, de la même façon, après la deuxième et la troisième strophe, quoique le ms. n'indique parfois pas le même nombre de mots pour les deux refrains (Cf. pp. 10, 68, 73, 81, 95, 98).

Si les rentrements sont inégaux, il s'agit donc seulement de négligence de la part du scribe. Quand le ms. est soigné, le rentrement se montre, en général, sous sa forme régulière: même nombre de syllabes après la deuxième et la troisième strophe.

Il est intéressant, à ce sujet, de signaler le ms. 1107 de Lyon publié par L. Clédât.¹¹ Les rondeaux de ce ms. ne comprennent ni refrain, ni rentrement, et cela ni après la deuxième, ni après la troisième strophe. Il me semble très probable qu'on doit rétablir les rentrements absents de ces rondeaux. Le ms. (papier) paraît avoir été l'objet de peu de soin et doit être l'œuvre d'un scribe distrait, malhabile, ou ignorant.

L'anthologie de M. Wallis peut rendre des services. L'auteur nous décrit des mss. intéressants et qu'il est bon de rassembler. Doit-on dire, pourtant, qu'il ait pleinement atteint le but qu'il indiquait dans son avant-propos: "An effort has been made to print only those poems which have not been previously published, and, as far as can be ascertained, of anonymous authorship"?

Le texte que M. Wallis a publié me semble fautif; la traduction anglaise qu'il en donne est tellement fantaisiste qu'elle n'est guère utile. Les renseignements qu'il nous offre sont maigres; le glossaire ne sert pas à grand' chose; l'examen,—beaucoup trop rapide,—d'une période singulièrement intéressante par sa diversité, sa complexité, ses caractères de transition, ne fait guère que ressasser des phrases tirées d'ouvrages d'ensemble; et l'étude de la littérature de ce temps donne, parfois, l'impression d'une répétition de formules qui, mal comprises, sont à la fois des truismes et des inexactitudes.

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SMOLLETT'S NOVELS IN FRANCE

E. Joliat, *Smollett et la France*, Paris, *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 1935, 279 pp.

Although students of comparative literature have taken it for granted that English prose fiction exerted a profound influence upon the evolution of the

¹⁰ G. Raynaud, *Rondeaux et autres Poésies du XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1889, pp. 57, 83, 114, 115, 119, 120, 125, 127, 130, 131, 132, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161.

¹¹ L. Clédât, "Ballades, Chansonnettes et Rondeaux du XV^e Siècle," *Lyon-Revue*, XI, 1886, 304-320.

French novel during the 18th century, very few scholarly studies have been made in this important field. The analyses of Defoe's influence in France by W. E. Mann and Paul Dottin, Sybil Goulding's study of Swift's reception in France, F. B. Barton's thesis on Sterne,—these isolated volumes have served to emphasize the need of further research along similar lines. Now M. Joliat's penetrating study of the diffusion of Smollett's works in France comes as a welcome addition to their number, and again directs attention to the rôle performed by the 18th-century English novel on the Continent.

M. Joliat approaches his problem from three points of view. In Part I he deals with the relationship of Smollett to picaresque literature, and discusses, in particular, his indebtedness to Lesage. He comments upon Smollett's unsuccessful attempt to elevate the moral tone of *Gil Blas* by creating a more serious hero and by launching a more outspoken attack against the prevalent vices of the day. It is M. Joliat's opinion that critics have devoted too much attention to the external similarity between *Gil Blas* and Roderick Random, whereas there is a fundamental difference between these two protagonists. He finds that Smollett is considerably indebted to Lesage, if only because he reacted against the latter's objectivity and his excessively didactic manner. M. Joliat concludes that the two novels resemble each other only in their general outlines. Smollett's borrowings from Lesage are negligible, for he was too close an observer of life to draw upon books for inspiration. Moreover, the influence of Lesage is limited to a single volume, Smollett's first novel, written in conscious imitation of the great French realist.

The second portion of M. Joliat's thesis attempts to examine Smollett's works with the idea of ascertaining his attitude towards France and the French people. It is perhaps the least important section of the book, and, in view of Smollett's intensely pro-British character, its findings are rather obvious. All of Smollett's works are infused with Gallophobia, and in such a composition as his farce, *The Reprisal, or the Tars of Old England* (1757), his biased attitude reaches the height of prejudice and absurdity. It is not simply personal animosity, however, which pervades his writings, but rather an intense nationalism which he shared with the great majority of his countrymen. The innate distrust of the British for the Frenchman is also reflected in the author's *Travels in France and Italy* (1766). M. Joliat gives a detailed account of Smollett's peregrinations on the Continent and discusses their significance.

In Part III, where he considers the reception of Smollett's works in France, M. Joliat makes his most valuable contribution to research in this department of comparative literature. Each successive French translation is examined until one derives a clear picture of the diffusion of Smollett's novels on foreign soil. *Roderick Random*, untranslated for 13 years after its publication, was attributed by the translators to Fielding and continued to be listed under his name until 1804. *Peregrine Pickle* was translated two years after its first appearance and, due to the inclusion of the *Memoirs of Lady Vane*, attained a considerable popular success in France. *Ferdinand Count Fathom* appeared in 1798, 45 years after its publication, and received but slight attention. *Sir Launcelot Greaves* and *Humphrey Clinker* were not translated until 1824 and 1826, respectively. The neglect of the latter, which may, perhaps, be regarded as Smollett's masterpiece,

was due to the fact that the *Travels Through France and Italy* had aroused a storm of indignation in France and made Smollett extremely unpopular.

M. Joliat calls attention to the paradoxical nature of Smollett's literary reputation in France. Though he was a mediocre historian, his *History of England* was rather favorably received, while his novels, which constitute his principal claim to literary immortality, were quite generally ignored. *Humphry Clinker*, his best novel, was scarcely read in France; *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, one of his poorest achievements, seems to have circulated rather widely. Moreover, the brief success of *Peregrine Pickle* was due, in some measure, to the popularity of Lady Vane's *Memoirs* and to Toussaint's free translation, while *Roderick Random* aroused some comment because it had been attributed to Fielding, and had been translated in such a fashion that French readers could not fail to associate it with the *genre poissard* and the "too popular" fiction of Vadé. In short, Fielding, Richardson and Sterne were recognized in France as novelists of the first rank, whereas Smollett attained only secondary standing. He represented, first of all, a renewal of the picaresque, a genre which had lost, after 1750, a great deal of its popularity. Lesage himself was at this time in eclipse; and it is not to be expected that Smollett's first novels would be readily accepted by readers in France. The psychology of his characters was, in general, too obvious to suit the French, who had become accustomed to the subtleties of Prévost and Marivaux. They were bewildered by Smollett's tendency to caricature and failed to understand such unusual personalities as Bowling, Trunnion and Pipes. The absence of the love-element in his novels also disappointed them; and they were repelled by his frequent indelicacies, his biting satire and his pessimistic outlook on life. As for his characteristic humor and his glowing vitality, the French had no opportunity to appreciate them, since the translators neglected these redeeming qualities. It is to be surmised, however, that if Smollett's novels had been translated completely and with great precision, the French would still have held themselves aloof. They could not overlook the essentially vulgar background of Smollett's work. His novels were too thoroughly British to be comprehended or enjoyed in France.

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THÉOPHILE GAUTIER IN ITALY

H. Bédarida, *Théophile Gautier et l'Italie*, Paris, Boivin, 1934, 94 pp.

With this concise, but well-documented study, Prof. Bédarida continues his fruitful investigations of Franco-Italian relations, among which we may mention his *Parme et la France de 1748 à 1789* (1928); *Le Romantisme français et l'Italie* (1931); *Manzoni ou le Romantisme janséniste* (1931); *L'Opéra italien jugé par un Amateur français en 1756* (1933); *L'Influence française en Italie au dix-huitième Siècle* (with P. Hazard, 1934); etc.

Théophile of the Scarlet Waistcoat and the flowing mane, gliding in a dark gondola over the moonlit canals of Venice, or confronting the Vesuvius, or meditating (like a new Goethe) in the Campo-Santo, such are the romantic vignettes that would seem representative of the flourishing Théo. Yet the

actual story of his intellectual contact with Italy is not quite so glamorous! It is a misconception to claim—as Maxime Du Camp has done,—that Théophile Gautier, “son and grandson of papal subjects in Avignon,” inherited *italianism* with his ancestral blood. In fact, Gautier descended from humble mountain peasants of the Hautes-Alpes. His early impression of Italy was entirely literary or artistic.

He travelled over the peninsula for the first time in 1850, and by then his culture and art were already too ripe and fixed to allow this new experience to influence him deeply. His “discovery” of Spain, ten years earlier, had a far greater importance for his formation as an author. Yet his journey to Italy was not solely the obligatory pilgrimage of every Romanticist *qui se respecte*; he did not merely wander on the traces of Goethe, Chateaubriand, Stendhal, or Musset. He was well informed about Italy, years before his journey. He knew Italian well enough to read Dante in the original; he even projected translating one of its cantos. It is not astonishing that he knew Petrarch or Ariosto and imitated them here and there, for this belonged to the general literary culture of the epoch. His admiration for Carlo Gozzi, his project of adapting *L'amore delle tre melarance*, are perhaps more significant, although the general Romantic esteem, or Goethe's imitation of the Italian playwright, would have been sufficient to set Gautier on the same road. All of this knowledge, which Prof. Bédarida has traced with precision, is perhaps not over-weighty, but it was completed and increased by Gautier's excellent knowledge of painting and the plastic arts of Italy. Although he praised the Italian primitives for their spontaneous faith, he professed great admiration for the universal genius of Michelangelo. In fact, his admiration for Italian painting, before 1850, was all-inclusive. Italy to him was literature and art. He does not seem to have shared the Romantic enthusiasm for its landscapes or its cities. In 1832, Venice is called a “ville admirable comme musée et non autrement. . . et je ne sais pourquoi les faiseurs de libretti et de barcarolles s'obstinent à nous parler de Venise comme d'une ville joyeuse et folle. La chaste épouse de la mer est bien la ville la plus ennuyeuse du monde, ses tableaux et ses palais une fois vus.” And in 1837 about Naples: “Les pêcheurs y sont convenablement vêtus et dorment plus volontiers à l'ombre qu'au soleil. La mandoline y est inconnue, et l'on n'y danse guère, au lieu de la *tarentelle*, qu'un demi-*cancan* qui serait réprouvé comme d'une austérité ridicule à la barrière des Deux-Moulins” (Cf. Bédarida, p. 19). It is true that when he wrote this, Gautier had never visited Italy, but compare this somewhat satirical vision to, for instance, the real Romantic one of Aloysius Bertrand in the division, *Espagne et Italie* of *Gaspard de la Nuit*, which was finished in 1836, and is thus exactly contemporary with these utterances of Gautier.

What influence did the actual contact with Italy, in 1850, have upon Gautier? It was his road to Emmaüs, his sudden conversion! His *Voyage en Italie* is mainly an apology for his earlier depreciation. It is true, also, that he went to Italy in order to cure his “grise mélancolie par de fortes doses d'azur,” and that he was to meet in Venice the latest of his mistresses, Maria Mattei:

"Maintenant j'adore une Italienne,
Un type accompli de modernité,
Qui met des gilets, fume et prend du thé,
Et qu'on croit Anglaise ou Parisienne."

In any case, his painter's eye was soon caught by the particular beauty of the Italian landscape, although he was disillusioned by the Apennines, about which Horace and the ancients had written so much sublime nonsense, and which he had sung in his poems "sur la foi des poètes latins!" What are they in reality? Only some "collines galeuses qui ressemblent à des tas de pierrailles et de gravats" (p. 28). But Venice took on a real splendor in his eyes and the picturesque, popular Italian types aroused his artistic interest. Florence, Rome, increased his enchantment for weeks, and it is only by the end of October, 1850, that he arrived at Naples,—two months after his departure from Paris. His sojourn there was cut short; he was suspected of radicalism by the Austrian government, and expelled. It is strange to see him described in a police document, (when he really cared nothing for any politics) as "Teofilo Gottier, Français très exalté du parti rouge. . . C'est un écrivain socialiste et l'on a la ferme certitude que, suivant des inspirations reçues du parti démagogique de Naples, il publiera bientôt quelque opuscule outrageant pour notre gouvernement" (pp. 35-36). He was guilty of merely visiting a certain Vincenzo Capececiatro, brother-in-law of a G. Ricciardi, who had founded a liberal newspaper, *Il Progresso*, and who, thereafter, naturally, lived in exile in France. This heroic-comic end of a journey of artistic exaltation did not prevent Gautier from proclaiming his newly-acquired admiration for Italy.

Prof. Bédarida has carefully traced his travel-route, his impressions and the later influence of the journey upon his work,—the fantastic short story, *Arria Marcella: Souvenir de Pompéi* (1852), which evokes a dreamy encounter with a long-dead Pompeian beauty; and upon the better-known novel *Jettaturra*, or the bringer of evil fate, the possessor of the Evil Eye. It is a well-documented and interesting study which is a welcome companion to Prof. Bédarida's *Impressions d'art dans le "Voyage en Italie" de Tb. Gautier* (1933) and his *Théophile Gautier, poète et critique d'art, en face du Corrége* (1934).

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THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANISM IN SPAIN

David Rubio, *Classical Scholarship in Spain*, Washington, D. C., 1934, 2 ll. + 205 pp.

The strong imprint of classical learning and literature on Spanish letters is perceptible throughout its long history, from the earliest times until today. At first, when Spain was a colony of the world empire, its intellectual intercourse with Rome was of the closest: Latin authors were models for writers of Hesperia, while the Province, called "more Roman than Rome," contributed many a glory to the Silver Age of Latin letters,—to mention only Martial, Seneca, Quintilian, etc. We are constantly reminded that later, during the Middle Ages, classical learning was kept far more alive in Spain than in any other European country, because of Arabic intermediaries; that it was stimulated by the humanistic ac-

tivities at the court of Alfonso X, the Learned; that it became the teacher of Spain for its first faltering steps, after the adoption of Spanish as its official literary language; that Roman law remained the basis of its legal documents; that Latin histories were models freely drawn upon for Spanish chronicles; that the fables of Aesop and Phædrus, early used as moralizing exempla by clerics and laymen, gave rise, in conjunction with the Oriental didactic tale, to such early masterpieces as *El conde Lucanor* and *El libro de buen amor*.

The sentimental literature was, to a great extent, inspired by Ovid, who remained the "Master of Love" well into the *Siglo de Oro*; Homer, Vergil and Horace were never-failing springs of poetic inspiration, for amatory, descriptive or mystical poems; the examples of Plautus, Terence and Seneca paved the way for the Spanish theatre, to become the greatest national glory of the Golden Age; the satirical works of Martial and Juvenal found countless imitators; the *Satyricon* and the *Golden Ass*, etc., were to melt with other "ingredients" ultimately to create the *genre* of the *coloquios* and the picaresque novel; the eclogues of Vergil, the idylls of Theocritus, or the novel *Daphnis and Chloe*, were to give rise to refined and courtly pastoral literature; Ciceronian cadences were to endow the Spanish tongue with a majestic and sonorous rhythm; the philosophers such as Aristotle, Plato, Lucretius, Epicurus, were elucidated and discussed in endless commentaries, stimulating Western thought to its highest endeavor. . . . These, and many more authors, works and *genres*, are ever-recurring testimonials to the vast cultural and spiritual debt which Spain owes to the classics; they are random examples of the generous "legacy of Rome," that bequeathed to the Western world its languages, literatures and cultures.

Though this incalculable debt of Spain to the classics is generally accepted, and though sporadic studies of one or another phase of this classic survival in Spanish literature have been appearing, there exists no exhaustive, nor even a general, survey of the precise extent and influence of the classics on Spanish literature. To begin an organization of this vast and widely dispersed body of material, Prof. Rubio here offers a valuable preliminary bibliography of one important aspect of the classic influence in Spain: a list of the principal humanists from the earliest times until today. Even in this one phase which Prof. Rubio selected, he had few guides upon which to lean: the ambitious 18th century compilation of Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles donde se da noticia de las traducciones que hay en castellano de la Sagrada Escritura, Santos Padres, filósofos, historiadores, médicos, oradores, poetas así griegos como latinos, y de otros autores que han florecido antes de la invención de la imprenta*, besides being incomplete and fragmentary, deals only with the early period of Spanish letters. Far more valuable and inclusive would have been the monumental bibliography undertaken by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica* (Madrid, 1902), had it been carried to completion. Unfortunately, however, only one volume appeared, reaching, in its lengthy 896 pages, only the letter "C," and leaving even "Cicero" incomplete! Prof. Rubio was therefore obliged to glean his entries from numerous and scattered sources, and his listing of over 800 humanists, with their principal works, is a tribute to his industry and zeal.

He begins his volume with a consideration of the Latin literature in Spain, discussing chronologically the principal contributions of Spanish writers to the

several ages of Latin literature, followed by a discussion of Latin writers in Spain during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, especially centered at the court of Juan II, and finally the great humanists of the Renaissance, like Nebrija, Alonso Valdés, "erasmicior Erasmo," his brother Juan, the renowned Beatriz Galindo, "La Latina," who guided Queen Isabela in her study of the classics, and numerous others. After this preliminary survey, Prof. Rubio lists the humanists of Spain by centuries, beginning with the 15th, to the present day. Under each century he includes an alphabetical list of the humanists, supplying for each brief biographical indications and a list of his humanistic works,—whether translations or studies of the classics, original works in Latin, grammars, dictionaries, etc. In an appendix are added the Catalonian translations of the classics, divided into MSS. and printed works, followed by an index of authors cited.

Of great interest is the listing by centuries of the over 800 humanists here considered. From some 22 authors of the 15th century, including the encyclopedic Nebrija whose Latin-Spanish dictionary and grammar proved such incentives to the study of Latin in Spain, the number mounts to 179 in the 16th century. Among these are found such representative scholars as Pedro Abril, to whom alone 23 works are credited, including translations into Spanish of *Æsop's Fables*, six comedies of Terence, 16 *Libros de epístolas* of Cicero, Aristotle's *Republic*, Euripides' *Medea*, four orations against Catiline, etc. Mateo Alemán, famous for his *Guzmán de Alfarache*, translated the *Odes* of Horace; a similar preference for this graceful poet of the simple life was that of the famous Argensola brothers, called "Los Horacios españoles," who rendered many of the poems of the "Prince of Latin Lyrics" into Spanish. Here also is found the learned Arias Montano, so well known for his leading rôle in the preparation of the *Biblia Regis Polyglota* (Antwerp, 1569-73, 8 vols.); the delicate musician and poet, Juan del Encina; the great physician, Andrés de Laguna; the philosopher, Juan Luis Vives, precursor of Bacon and the Empiricists; or the famous historian, Jerónimo Zurita.

The 17th century is represented by some 83 authors, among them the great early bibliographer, Nicolás Antonio, whose *Bibliotheca Vetus* and *Hispana Nova* have remained standard reference works for early Spanish literature; Pedro de Espinosa, the violent opponent of Góngora; Juan Martínez de Jáuregui, equally famous as painter and poet; the prolific Vicente Mariner, librarian of the Escorial and one of the leading humanists of his century, of whom no less than 49 works of classical interest are listed; Pellicer de Salas, so learned that he was looked upon as an oracle in his day, and author of over 200 works, of which only 5 are here included; the incisive Quevedo is represented by his translation of Seneca's *Epístolas* and *De los remedios de cualquier fortuna*, etc.; the historian, Antonio Solís y Rivadeneyra, listed for his translations of Ovid; the poet, Esteban Manuel Villegas, renowned as the most successful imitator of Anacreon; etc.

In the 18th century, when Neo-classicism after the French example reigned supreme, it is not astonishing that the number of humanists included should rise to 118, among them some of the principal *littérateurs* and scholars of the age, such as the historian Conde, for his *Poesías de Anacreonte, Teócrito, Bion y Mosco*; P. Pedro Estala, renowned for his understanding of the Greek theatre; Leandro Fernández de Moratín, who was so devoted a follower of Horace and

Terence; Juan de Iriarte, whose work, *Epigramas de Marcial*, foreshadows the stinging fables of his irascible nephew, Tomás; José Marchena, friend of such French revolutionists as Robespierre and Danton, and so versed in Latin that his literary forgeries of the *Satyricon* and Catullus deceived the most expert classical scholars in Europe; Mayans y Siscar, known as the "Nestor de la literatura española;" the Franciscan friar, Antonio Oliver, who taught in Peru, and was the translator of several classics; the dramatist, Dionisio Solís, who translated the odes of Horace, etc.

In spite of the "liberating force" and the attempts at "originality" of Romanticism, interest in the classics gained momentum during the 19th century, so that no less than 174 humanists are listed for this century, including the outstanding Hellenist, Federico de Baraibar, translator of Aristophanes' comedies, Lucian's works, the *Odyssey*, etc.; Javier de Burgos, statesman as well as humanist, who translated Horace's poetry, Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, the *Georgics* of Vergil, etc.; the dramatist Martínez de la Rosa, whose *Edipo* is by many considered the most successful neo-classic imitation of Sophocles; the masterly and fundamental humanistic studies of Menéndez y Pelayo; the scholars, Milá y Fontanals for his translation of Horace and Eugenio de Ochoa for his translation of Catullus, Seneca's *Hippolytus*, etc.; the widely-read and traveled Juan Valera, for his delicate rendering of *Daphnis and Chloë*, his free translations of Horace, his *Asclepigenia*, "imitación de Platón;" etc.

Under the 20th century, some 116 humanists are already listed, including José Alemany y Bofuér, Professor of Greek at the University of Madrid; the valuable humanistic works of Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, such as his translation of the important medieval Latin comedy, the *Liber Pamphili*, his study of the origin of the theatre, *Las Bacantes* . . . , his translation of Plato, etc.; the voluminous Cejador y Frauca; the philological works of R. Menéndez Pidal; the famous Hellenist, Nicolau d'Olwer, of the University of Barcelona; Rubio y Lluch's studies on Anacreon; Segalá y Estalella's translation of Homer and other authors; Miguel de Unamuno for his *La enseñanza del latín en España*; etc.

With its compilation of these and many other Spanish humanists, this volume constitutes a valuable groundwork for this important, though disorganized, branch of Spanish-comparative literature, and should render great service. To further this purpose, Prof. Rubio might, in a future edition, facilitate the consultation of his work by an additional list of the classic authors, with the translations and the editions of the works of each, and perhaps with cross-references to the Spanish humanists who have occupied themselves with them. This would be most helpful in gauging the popularity and importance of any given classical author or work. For the sake of clarity, he might also list separately the manifold works here intermingled, into easily-consultable groups of: 1. Translations of classical works, with editions; 2. Studies on classical literature, authors and works; 3. Linguistic studies of the classics, including grammars and dictionaries; 4. Original works in Latin, or those directly imitating the classics; etc.

Another aid would be the expansion of the index. Though commendably exhaustive for the Spanish humanists,—the subject which Prof. Rubio here treats,—it is chary of references to the classic authors, yet it is probably exactly these references to Greek and Latin writers that most scholars would seek in his volume. For example, under Juvenal are found only 2 references: pp. 17

and 39, which draw attention to the preliminary historical essay on Latin writers up to the 15th century. Yet the real influence of Juvenal in Spain is found in translations and studies throughout the later centuries, and Prof. Rubio has included these on pp. 88, 98, 99, 126, 132, 133, etc.,—which might certainly be included in the index to facilitate consultation. The completion of references to the other classic authors would render similar service. It would also be helpful to include critical studies on the classical influence on Spain by scholars of other nations than Spanish,—such studies as Prof. R. Schevill's *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1913); Dr. Rebecca Switzer, *The Ciceronian Style in Fr. Luis de Granada* (N. Y., Instituto de las Españas, 1927); Dr. Anthony A. Giulian, *Martial and the Epigram in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1930); etc. Such additions would, of course, shift the stress of the volume from Spanish humanists to the classical influence in Spain, but since the foundation has been so laboriously laid for the broader subject, it would be of the utmost value to round out the present work for greater service.

Professor Rubio is himself fully aware of the limitations of his essay, and of course makes no claim to completion. This is inevitable in a work of so vast a scope, which necessarily becomes a cooperative task. Any one who has delved into one or another problem of the classical influence will come upon works which should be included. In a future edition we should expect to find, for example, Menéndez y Pelayo's *Vicisitudes de la filosofía platónica en España* (Madrid, Estrada, 1889); the important work of Luis Nicolau de Olwer, *El teatro de Menandro. Noticias histórico-literarias, texto original y versión directa de los nuevos fragmentos* (Barcelona, Tipografía L'Avenç, 1911). Homer's influence in Spain, for example, could have been more extensively treated had Prof. Rubio made use of Prof. Luis Segalá y Estalella's now standard *Obras completas de Homero*,—a magnificent volume, remarkable for its scholarly acumen, artistic translation, as well as its typographical sumptuousness. In his carefully compiled introduction, the renowned Spanish Hellenist devotes a chapter to "Homero en España y en Hispanoamérica" (pp. XLII-LXIX), in which he lists no less than 37 Castilian and Latin translations by Spaniards, 15 Catalanian and 6 Spanish-American publications of Homer's works, accompanied by critical estimates and even samples of the renderings. This exhaustive list would have added to Prof. Rubio's volume such translations as: Pedro de Valencia's fragments of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; an anonymous translation of the *Iliad* in octaves (1745-6); Juan Meléndez Valdés' version of the *Iliad*; P. Pedro Estela's rendering of several rhapsodies of Homer; José A. Conde's *Himnos homéricos* in Castilian verse; Miguel José Moreno's verse rendering of the *Iliad*; or Antonio de Gironella y Ayguals' indirect translation of the *Odyssey*, based on Stephano's Latin version as well as on Pope's English translation, the French versions of Bitaubé, Dugas-Montbel, Mme Dacier, Le Brun, and Eugène Bareste (1851). Again, closer to our own day, are Narciso Campillo's MS. translation of the *Iliad* (1878); R. Canales' indirect translation of the *Odyssey*; Genaro Alenda's fine verse rendering of the *Batracomiaquia* (in the *Biblioteca clásica*); Ramón M. Garriga y Nogués' prose translation of parts of the *Iliad* (in his volume, *La poesía y sus formas artísticas*, Barcelona, 1901); Joaquin Balcéll's *Himnos o premios: A Baco*; Gustavo Vivero's prose translation of the *Odyssey* (Biblio-

teca económica de clásicos universales); José Banqué y Feliu's *Himnos Homéricos, vertidos directa y literalmente del griego por vez primera a la prosa castellana*; Fernando Crusat y Prats' prose translation of parts of the *Odyssey* (in the *Antología universal*, ed. by Ricardo Soriano de Pinedo, 1913); José Folch Vernet's *El Rapto de la bella Proserpina: Himno homérico en honor de Ceres, traducido literalmente del griego* (Barcelona, Editorial Perelló, S. A., 1917); etc. It would also be desirable to indicate, wherever possible, the number of editions of any translation or work so as to point out the extent of its success. Thus Díaz Carmona's *Sátiras de Juvenal, en castellano* (p. 132) was printed in 1892, and reprinted in 1913; García Malo's translation of the *Iliad* (p. 134) was reprinted in 1827, etc.

Such additions as these, however, chosen at random as they are, do not invalidate the merit of this tentative organization of classical scholarship in Spain. No doubt, many more items could be added,—and even so fundamental a bibliography as Palau's *Manual*, if combed through, would yield many another important entry. Nevertheless, even as it now stands, this pioneer work will render important service; it should clear the ground and suggest many fruitful subjects for investigation in the comparative classic-Spanish field. We should be grateful to this bibliographical pathfinder in a field largely unexplored.

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BELGIAN CHRONICLE

F. Russell Pope, *Nature in the Work of Camille Lemonnier*, New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1933, XII + 148 pp.

"Je n'ai pas été autre chose qu'un instinctif enivré de la beauté de la vie."

—Lemonnier.

Friends of Belgium rejoice as her literature slowly penetrates into American halls of Academe. Prof. Pope is, I believe, the first in this country to choose a Belgian novelist as the subject of a doctoral dissertation. Courage is necessary for such an undertaking, as it is impossible to find here all desirable documents on Belgian men of letters. No two critics will agree on details; but Prof. Pope has presented a well-rounded development of his subject: "La nature, voilà le grand thème de Lemonnier."

A brief biographical sketch, the analysis of representative novels, a recapitulation and a bibliography of works consulted make up the volume. In the first section, Dr. Pope notes the determining influence of two men: Charles De Coster and Félicien Rops. Although the admiration of Lemonnier for both is unquestionable, it is difficult to establish any direct debt to the first, who was always primarily interested in the past while Lemonnier was concerned professedly with the present. The connecting link should be sought rather in their common humanitarianism and in their desire to endow Belgium with a literature worthy of her achievements in plastic art than in any pantheism, which is at least vague in De Coster. As to Rops, if the author of *L'Hystérique* had certain of his etchings often in mind, the spirit of the two men is radically different. Lemonnier exuberantly accepts physical impulse as normal and noble; only when

it is thwarted by social convention or abuse does he turn to the artist to read the outcome. Rops seems to find in perversion the essence of his art.

Nor am I willing to accept unchallenged the view that the full force of the influence of these two men "was not evident earlier because of the prevailing literary style in Belgian letters which were eminently mild, respectable and proper." Lemonnier was never afraid of running counter to prevalent bourgeois tastes. A careful study of his early art-criticism would reveal the same traits as appear in his later novels. The best introduction to *Un Mâle* (1881) is to be found in *Les Modèles de Rubens* (1869). Dr. Pope seems to confound a certain "smiling realism" at the start with the Romantic strain, which he and all other critics note throughout the entire output of Lemonnier. Let us not forget that *Sedan* (or *Les Charniers*), hardly "smiling realism", had appeared in 1871.

Dr. Pope's analysis of *Thérèse Monique* (written in 1872, published in 1882) shows the dominating traits of Lemonnier's work in germ in this early novel. These traits are: 1) Landscape; 2) the inner urge of sex; 3) a pantheistic affection for life; 4) love of humble country-folk and an aversion toward the urban bourgeois. The interplay of these themes and the predominance now of one, now of another, characterize all his writing. I am not sure that the denomination of the first as "external nature", of the second as "human nature, in part at least", and of the third as "creative nature", is happy. Dr. Pope uses this nomenclature throughout the book. He has "attempted . . . a dissociation of the ideas included in this word *nature*." He quotes in support Lemonnier's *Les Deux Consciences*: "Pour la première fois, un écrivain ramenait à l'unité de l'énorme vie organique, la créature et la portion de l'univers qu'elle occupait." This would seem rather to indicate that there was no dissociation possible in the mind of the author. More satisfactory then is Dr. Pope's diagram showing a dot surrounded by three concentric circles. The dot represents "the sex urge"; the first circle, "human nature"; the second and intermediary, "external nature"; the third, "creative nature". For Lemonnier they are all strings of the same instrument.

It is in *Un Mâle* that Lemonnier reached the climax of his power in portraying all these influences at work to produce a synthesis. Dr. Pope's analysis of the opening scene is masterly. "Dawn is nature's symphony", he remarks, and then traces the different motifs.¹

Dr. Pope regards *La Fin des Bourgeois* (1892) and *L'Homme en Amour* (1897), as transition-novels preparing the way for the naturism of the last group. Naturism he defines as a revolt against the abnormal and ugly aspects of naturalism, "a sort of sanctification of nature". He states in detail the characteristics of the new movement and studies the influence of the luminist painters, such as Emile Claus. He is perhaps over-impressed by the relative disappearance of the sex-urge in the last group. A consideration of other transition-novels,—for instance, *L'Arche* (1894), *La Faute de Mme Charvet* (1895)

¹ Dr. Pope attributes the marked superiority of *Un Mâle* over Lemonnier's early work to the study of naturalism — in painting, Courbet; in literature, Zola. I should seek rather in *Le Mort* (1882), not mentioned by Dr. Pope, the purely naturalistic trend and place this novel at the beginning of the series of pathologically realistic works, some of which are studied here.

and *Le Bon Amour* (1900),—would have made the change seem less abrupt.² Dr. Pope has missed much of the poetry of the naturist novels which are avowedly Utopian. He declares that the characters "lose the only charm they ever possessed, lusty sexual vigor." Lemonnier would have protested with all his eloquence against any such effort to confine him within a single theme. "Je m'évade vers de variables latitudes et rechigne à me laisser cataloguer sous une étiquette", he declares.³

If I have, in the foregoing, insisted on divergences of interpretation in detail, I would not have the reader lose sight of the unquestionable soundness of Dr. Pope's work as a whole. He has seized and illustrated admirably the different *motifs* in Lemonnier's symphony which is extraordinarily rich, and he has marked the evolution of each theme. The "dissociation", which I cannot find in the original, doubtless makes for clarity in the exposition. In his conclusion Dr. Pope finds the peculiar claim to glory of his author "in the indissoluble unity in which the component elements of his triune nature . . . are bound." With this I am in complete accord.

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE

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IN MEMORIAM: HENRI PIRENNE (1862-1935)

With the death of Henri Pirenne on October 24, 1935, Belgium lost the great historian of its national unity, and the scientific world lost a historian of deep originality comparable only to the greatest,—Michelet, Renan, Taine or Fustel de Coulanges. In a succession of impressive works, he expounded that Belgium is not an accidental and recent creation of European diplomacy, but that for centuries it had had a unity of its own, quite distinct from the intellectual and economic interests of its neighbors, be it Holland, France or Germany. Belgian history does not begin in 1830,—after the separation from Holland,—or not even in the 15th century with the House of Burgundy, or the supremacy of the van Artevelde of Ghent. Belgium formed, from the beginning, an economic unit, which created a unity of interests,—commercial and intellectual,—that laid its foundations as a separate country, notwithstanding the diversity of languages and races which compose it. He has brilliantly sustained the theory not only the permanency of the linguistic frontiers between the Flemish and French parts of Belgium, but also that of the interpenetration of both languages and races. Recent historical research has in all the main points confirmed his conclusions. Without denying the desirability or even the necessity of cultivating intensively every aspect of the Belgian national culture, Henri Pirenne nevertheless demonstrated, not so much the existence of a common and somewhat sentimental "Belgian soul", but the economic, literary and intellectual interdependence of the several groups that constitute the Belgium of today.

² Dr. Pope does not mention the first and third. Concerning *La Faute de Mme Charvet*, he merely quotes the amazing remark of Bazalgette: "Lemonnier a voulu créer le type de l'adultère"—an utterly misleading statement.

³ See the essay, *Esthétique*, in the volume *Dames de Volupté*. I quoted a part in *Le Roman Belge Contemporain* (pp. 47-48).—I must protest against a misunderstanding of a remark in the conclusion of my book, quoted by Dr. Pope in a note on p. 53. He makes me impugn the sincerity of Lemonnier's aversion to the bourgeoisie. I believe my meaning, read in the context, is unmistakable. If not, the chapter on Lemonnier, to which it refers, should banish any doubt.

Yet he was in no sense a nationalist historian; he merely defined exactly the specific rôle Belgium played in the development of modern European civilization.

In former centuries the Walloon provinces were under control of the German-Austrian Holy Empire, whereas Flanders was dependent upon the Kingdom of France. Neither of them was in sympathy with their rulers and, in order to combat the central power that dominated them, they began to fraternize with each other. This link was strengthened by common commercial interests, by the rise of municipal democracies both in the Walloon country and in Flanders. Liège and Dinant formed a replica of Ghent, Ypres and Bruges, and this affinity of geographical and economic situation, the very similarity of their social formation, drew the Belgian provinces together at an early date, and furnished a reason, among others, for the separation from Holland in 1830. Pirenne understood deeply that Belgian history should be viewed in the light of a national reaction against European encroachments.

But beyond his high achievement, as a national historian, Henri Pirenne was the actual founder of the modern school of economic history,—and of its multiple applications to cultural and literary history. He had no preconceived theory. He did not view history as a struggle for supremacy between diverse kings, nor as the unavoidable triumph of the sacred principle of the people's rights, nor as the illustration of the greatness of a "race", etc. He approached the historical process as a severe realist,—and he uncovered the commercial and economic currents and realities that shaped historical events as well as the mass-psychological motives that helped to determine them.

In this sense we may say that Henri Pirenne,—with all his patient and minute documentation,—was perhaps the most original historian that Europe has produced during the last decades. He remained impervious to glittering catchwords, to abstract theories, to vague philosophic interpretations, but built up from what would seem uninspiring materials from public documents and archives,—the actual history of a real people. Historical events which Romanticism used to represent as magnificent but rootless miracles, thus were proven the result of an interplay of social and economic facts and forces. We take as an example his criticism of the conception of the Crusades. Henri Pirenne has shown how the Islamic world, in possession of the Mediterranean, was economically strangling Western Europe. There can be no doubt as to the very practical motives that started the series of the Crusades, first against the Spanish Arabs, later toward the Holy Land. The inspiring, but Romantic, picture of a Pierre l'Hermite converting suddenly by heaven-inspired eloquence the European nobles to a magnificent adventure against the Infidels, in a sweep of overpowering enthusiasm, is definitely unhistorical and opposed to the nature of these semi-religious, semi-commercial expeditions, which spread over several centuries (Cf. H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, 1922). Henri Pirenne founded a school of precise historians, who have applied his methods to different fields than those in which he labored—and who practice some of his main tenets: exhaustive documentation, scrupulous interpretation and unflinching, unprejudiced mental rectitude in synthetic estimates.

* * *

Henri Pirenne belonged to a family of Walloon industrialists who owned a wool mill in Verviers, one of the leading concerns of this city. His father,

Henri Pirenne, and his brother, Emile, were known as the firm, "Pirenne Frères". It was the ambition of the great historian's father to make him his successor in this flourishing enterprise. But nothing could prevail against the scientific vocation of the young Henri Pirenne, who was finally allowed to become a student of history in the University of Liège, where he studied under Godefroid Kurth. After obtaining his doctorate of philosophy, he visited the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin; in Paris he took courses at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. In 1884-85, he was entrusted with a course of paleography and cartography at the University of Liège. Appointed in 1886 to the University of Ghent, he there gave courses on the history of the Middle Ages until 1930. The scholarly work of Pirenne is considerable and varied. He won the five-year prize of national history in 1901 (for the period 1896-1900). The first part of his seven volume *Histoire de Belgique* appeared, in German, in 1899; the French edition was issued in 1900; and there exist translations into several languages. A rather incomplete *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Belgique* appeared in 1893, but revised and enlarged editions were issued in 1902 and in 1931. Among his numerous other works we may mention: *Sedulius de Liège* (Bruxelles, 1882); *Histoire de la constitution de la ville de Dinant au Moyen âge* (Ghent, 1888); *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon, comte de Flandre* par Galbert de Bruges (Paris, 1891); *Le livre de l'abbé Guillaume de Ryckel* (1249-1272); *Polyptyque et comptes de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond au milieu du XIII^e siècle* (Bruxelles, 1896); *Les sources de la Chronique de Flandre jusqu'en 1342* (Paris, 1896); *La version flamande et la version française de la bataille de Courtrai* (Ghent, 1897) so important for the Franco-Belgian relations in the 13th and 14th centuries; *Le Hanse flamande de Londres* (Ghent, 1899); *Les Origines des Constitutions urbaines au Moyen âge* (Paris, 1895); *Le soulèvement de la Flandre maritime en 1323-1328* (Brussels, 1900); *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre* (in collaboration with G. Espinas, Brussels, 1906, 1909, 1914, 1924, 4 volumes); *Les anciennes démocraties des Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1910); *Liberté et propriété en Flandre du VII^e au XI^e siècle* (Brussels, 1911); *Les villes du moyen âge; Essai d'histoire économique et sociale* (Brussels, 1927); *La Belgique et la Guerre mondiale* (Paris, 1929); Carnegie endowment for international peace, Divisions of economics and history (1924); *Histoire économique et sociale de la guerre mondiale; La Fin du Moyen âge* (Paris, 1931). He has collaborated to numerous reviews and publications, both Belgian and foreign. We might also mention three rectorial addresses: *La Nation belge et l'Allemagne; Quelques réflexions historiques* (1920); *L'Allemagne moderne et l'Empire romain du Moyen âge* (1921); *Ce que nous devons désapprendre de l'Allemagne* (1922).

During the German conquest of Belgium, he violently opposed the creation of a Flemish University sponsored by Germany, and because of his refusal to resume his teaching, he was imprisoned for two years in a German fortress at the same time as his colleague and friend, Professor Paul Fredericy. In an attempt to set him free, he was appointed in Princeton University as a special lecturer. President Wilson and Alfonso XIII of Spain, as well as scholars from all over the world, appealed for his release but the German government remained obstinate. Only at the end of the war, Pirenne was freed. He has published his remembrances as *Souvenirs de Captivité en Allemagne, 1916-18* (Bruxelles,

1921). He did not learn of the American efforts to deliver him from his captivity until the time of his visit to America. During his lecture-tour in the United States, he was received everywhere with the respect due a man of his learning and his sterling character.

Mr. Perrin C. Galpin, Secretary of the *C. R. B. Educational Foundation, Inc.*, wrote me concerning Professor Henri Pirenne's lecture tour in the United States:

"Professor Pirenne was invited by this Foundation to come to the United States as a Visiting Professor in 1922. We made all the arrangements for his visits and trip in this country.

"Professor Pirenne accepted our invitation, and, accompanied by Mrs. Pirenne, arrived in New York on the *S. S. Finland* on October 7, 1922. They sailed from New York on December 16, 1922, on the *S. S. Majestic*.

"He delivered a series of four lectures in French on the general question of 'The Origin of Cities in Western Europe'. At some places where time would not permit of a longer stay, he gave a single lecture entitled 'Mahomet and Charlemagne'.

"He lectured at the following institutions in this country: Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Washington, D. C., Wisconsin, Chicago, California, Stanford, California Institute of Technology, and Columbia.

"Since he stayed nearly a week in many of these places, he was the guest at many small meetings and gatherings of students of mediaeval history, members of Belgian colonies in New York, Chicago, and other cities.

"I think without doubt he had a tremendous success as a lecturer and his lectures appealed not only to students of mediaeval history but to the general educated public.

"Professor Charles Seymour, now Provost of Yale University, wrote me in part on October 24, 1922, as follows: 'Interest in Mediaeval History at New Haven has not been especially marked, and I was in some fear lest even so distinguished a scholar and lecturer as Professor Pirenne might not attract the audience which the subject and the lecturer deserved. The first lecture, however, nearly filled the hall in Lampson, and each succeeding lecture was marked by an ever increasing attendance so that at the close many of the audience were compelled to stand up in the rear. There could be no clearer testimony to the effectiveness of Monsieur Pirenne's presentation'.

"This phenomenal increase of audience at succeeding lectures was repeated in other places.

"The lectures which Professor Pirenne gave were published by the Princeton University Press with the title *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. This book was issued in 1925."

On his return, after a sojourn of three months, he published in *Le Flambeau* (May 31, 1923) a very perspicacious and, in general, enthusiastic study *Les Universités américaines*, in which his gift for gathering information and wielding it together, stands out brilliantly.

* * *

Professor Henri Pirenne was Professor Emeritus and former Rector of the University of Ghent, Professor extraordinary at the University of Brussels, Member of the Royal Belgian Academy, Secretary of the Royal Historical Commis-

sion of Belgium. Among the academies to which he was invited are the *Institut de France*, the *Académie des Inscriptions*, and the British Academy, of which he was an associate member. He was a member of the Academies of Amsterdam, Vienna, Spain, Leningrad, Sweden, Copenhagen, Christiania, Boston, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Göttingen, Munich (resigned). He was President of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome; Vice-President of the *Comité International des Sciences Historiques*; Honorary Vice-President of the *Société d'Histoire moderne*. The orders which were bestowed upon him are numerous: Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold; Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown; Grand Cross of the Order of Alfonso XII of Spain; Commander of the Legion of Honor, etc. He was *docteur honoris causa* of the Universities of Brussels, Paris, Oxford, Strasbourg, Bordeaux, Manchester, Leipzig, Tübingen, Groningen, Cambridge, Alger, Dijon and Montpellier, and has lectured or been a visiting professor at the principal European and American universities.

Henri Pirenne married a very cultured lady, Jenny Verhaegen, of Ghent, and had four exceptionally gifted sons, Henri-Edouard, Jacques, Pierre and Robert. Pierre Pirenne became a War volunteer in 1914 and was killed on the 3rd of November of that year in the battle of the Yser. Robert Pirenne, although not thirty years of age, was in 1932 "Substitut du Procureur du Roi" at Brussels. He died after a short illness in 1933, leaving a widow and three young children. Henri-Edouard Pirenne was for a number of years a Professor of Philosophy in the University of Brussels and he is best known for his outstanding work, *L'Angoisse métaphysique, essai de philosophie de la philosophie*. He died suddenly on May 28, 1935. These successive blows had deeply affected Henri Pirenne and impaired his health. His only surviving son, Jacques Pirenne, is Professor at the University of Brussels and at the Institut Oriental. He is best known for his work on Public Law in ancient Egypt.

We may add that another member of this distinguished family, a cousin of the famous historian, the Honorable Raoul Grenade, Commercial Counselor of the Belgian Embassy, represents now with great ability the Belgian commercial and cultural interests in the United States.

* * *

Among the scholarly organizations which were dear to the heart of Professor Pirenne, we may mention the *Fondation Universitaire*,—which sends every year a number of Belgian scholars to the United States—and to which he devoted much of his activity; or the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome. Since 1922 he was a member of its committee, and became its President in 1930. Originally founded for the exploration of the papal archives for documents relating to the ecclesiastical history of Belgium, it gradually expanded its activities, added a classical and archaeological section, and in 1932 joined with the *Fondation Nationale Princesse Marie-José*, which was created with non-political intent to strengthen the intellectual links between Belgium and Italy, and especially to foster studies in the history of art, in which both countries have a splendid past. Largely under his impulse, from 1922 on, a great number of valuable publications was issued.

Another meritorious learned association in which Henri Pirenne's influence predominated, was the *Société Prince de Ligne*, which, under the able and indefatigable editorship of F. Leuridan, has issued from 1920 until today the

valuable *Annales Prince de Ligne*, as well as an entire library of works by Charles-Joseph de Ligne and of books related to him. These investigations have proven of great value for the elucidation of 18th century literature in Belgium,—a task that is far from completed. Under the presidency of Henri Pirenne, an international congress was organized in July, 1935, and on the occasion of the bi-centenary of the birth of Prince Charles de Ligne, where an important series of studies on the Belgian 18th century, were read. Thus the activity of Henri Pirenne, far from being confined to his special field,—the Middle Ages,—spread in many directions, and in diverse domains he proved himself to be a perspicacious leader, an animator and an intellectual organizer. It is, then, not astonishing that his students and colleagues dedicated to him a two-volume *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne* (1926) on the occasion of his fortieth year of teaching at the University of Ghent. He was the first to receive the Prize Francqui of 500,000 francs, instituted for Belgians who made an outstanding contribution to Belgian letters, history or science. On April 30, 1921, an international manifestation of scholars and officials was organized to his honor in the Palais des Academies in Brussels.

With his characteristic helpfulness, Henri Pirenne was the first of the Belgian scholars to become a member of the Honorary Committee of the *Belgian Institute in the United States*; and even during the last months before his decease, in the midst of his private sorrows, he was constantly active in fostering the means of a deeper cultural understanding between Belgium and the United States. His generous attitude toward his younger colleagues and successors was at all times a stimulant to further efforts—and a consolation for much ungenerosity and incomprehension in this nether world. From the first he offered his services unstintingly, and he kept his word. He wrote from Rome, from the Institut Historique Belge, on March 19, 1935:

"Cher Monsieur van Roosbroeck,

"Je viens de recevoir ici, où je suis encore pour quelques jours, la lettre de mon cousin Raoul Grenade me faisant part de votre désir de me nommer membre du Comité d'honneur du Belgian Institute in the United States. J'accepte avec reconnaissance cette aimable proposition. Je connais depuis de longues années et j'admire sincèrement l'activité que vous déployez comme auteur et directeur de cet Institute, qui a tant fait pour répandre en Amérique et ailleurs la connaissance du mouvement littéraire en Belgique. Ses publications sont tout à fait remarquables et il serait bien souhaitable qu'elles fussent mieux connues qu'elles ne le sont dans notre pays. Je m'estimerai bien heureux de pouvoir dans la mesure de mes moyens, collaborer à leur diffusion."

The *Belgian Institute in the United States* has lost with this great, but simple and helpful, master and animator one of its most appreciated guides.

Henri Pirenne, besides being an outstanding historian and an admirable man, was what we may call a great teacher,—but not in the sense of the conventional teacher, for his strong individuality precluded any easy submission to routine class exposition. He was exactly the opposite of what the conventional "good teacher" is conceived to be by those who esteem the text higher than the spirit;—one who loses himself in mere technicalities, instead of moving

the deepest critical and spiritual forces of the students by his devotion to truth and his unbending mental integrity.

Although endowed with a vast, a remarkable memory, and the master of a most astonishing and many-sided documentation, he intellectually stood above any narrow specialization, as the words of Gustave Vanzyne, the Secretary of the Belgian Academy, testify: "This explorer of the past was an intensively living man and one whom everything in present times interested and fascinated. He had completely escaped specialization. He was free from all dogmatism. His intelligence was always submissive to fact. Everything was for him a subject of investigation, but of loyal investigation. His reason for living was an ever-awakened curiosity, a joy in explaining to himself all possible phenomena. He never adopted a fixed doctrine. He even found a certain satisfaction, a certain pleasure even, in proving a fixed doctrine erroneous; in showing how it contradicted fact, or the hidden spring of an occurrence, which he had discovered.

"It is for this reason that he was an admirable professor. He always searched for an explanation. He sought it for others and for himself, with the ever-watchful care of not being deceived by accepted ideas, of not allowing himself to be led astray by appearances. Thus quite unintentionally, he was always teaching, everywhere. He taught at table, at meetings which he animated with his vivacity, with his healthy, frank, over-flowing joy of living, —of superior living while thinking... He taught without knowing it while questioning himself, while thinking aloud; while replying to a guest or to a companion while walking; while taking hold of what an accidental conversation had just taught him... He did all this with an astounding spontaneity, with such an abundance of arguments, with such a richness of reasoning, that frequently the ideas rushed up, impatient to be formally expressed, so that frequently his volubility seemed slightly to confuse his diction.

"Some times his improvised thesis seemed to verge on paradox, so unexpected was it in its ingenuity. Nevertheless, it always remained solidly attached to facts, to facts which his prodigiously rich memory produced with surety and ease. He knew so many things in all fields that, when he himself asked a question, one hesitated to reply to him, because one could not believe he really did not know. And, furthermore, he was moving by his submissiveness to this indefatigable curiosity, to the ardent need to enrich his mind still further. He had perceived that he lacked a particular fact, and that his interviewer, by the orientation of his activity, might furnish it to him. Then, this magnificent master listened like a docile pupil. But soon what he had just heard furnished him the occasion for an illuminating deduction; then it was he again who taught. He had no doctrine; he had no prejudices. His passionate nature was distrustful of his own passions as much as of those of the opponents whose antagonisms create the dramas of history...."

It is such temperaments as his that produce really great teachers, those to whom degrees and titles are only secondary considerations, those who know how to inspire their students, to form scholars rather than merely doctors of history or philosophy, those who carry on, in these more difficult times, the tradition of the teachers of the Renaissance and of the Middle Ages. Professor

Pirenne did not have all the esteem he deserved among the pedants on minor points of history and politicians frequently opposed him. His intellectual activity was entirely too vigorous, too overflowing not to disturb the daily routine in which they had so successfully anchored their careers. But he formed scholars who were to carry on his task when the pen would fall from his tired hands; he became a symbol of mental rectitude and his followers can be recognized by their strict adherence to unprejudiced scientific discipline and their audacity in opening up new fields of research. He leaves the memory of a vastly laborious and original scholar, a most stimulating teacher, an upright and generous personality, who, at all times and against every opposition, had the courage of his convictions. He transcended the boundaries of his country, to become one of the greatest innovators in historical methods and research in modern times.

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION, as is well known, has been blighting to learned reviews, but scholars are especially saddened at seeing so many monumental publications go by the board. Thus, the *Revue du XVIIe Siècle* passed out in 1933, but it has happily been replaced by *Humanisme et Renaissance*, founded by Prof. Abel Lefranc in 1934. At about the same time the *Revue Celtique*, founded in 1871 by Prof. Henri Gaidoz and later edited by d'Arbois de Jubainville, met the same fate, and its future is problematical. But the worst blow of all came when the masterly *Romania* announced in April, 1934, that, notwithstanding its endowment, it was obliged to suspend publication for commercial reasons. Fortunately, however, an irremediable catastrophe to scholarship has been avoided through the formation of a stock-company called *La Société "Romania"*, which has assumed ownership of the review and has revived it, with Mario Roques again at the helm. The January, 1935, issue was distributed recently, while the April, July and October issues are announced to appear before the end of 1935. May we hope that its severest trials are passed and that it will continue to serve, as heretofore, as the guiding light of research in the field of Romance philology!—FRANCIS MIOMANDRE comments most favorably as well as wittily in his column, "Propos de l'Enfant Terrible" (*Nouvelles Litt.*, Sept. 14) on Prof. A. Feuillerat's *Comment Marcel Proust a composé son roman*, which, he says, explains Proust fully and, at the same time, reveals that "la composition", so much admired in France, "est une blague."—FOREIGN PROFESSORS, visiting the United States during the present academic year, include the following: Dr. André Siegfried, of the Collège de France, who will be Visiting Carnegie Professor at the Universities of California and Missouri as well as at Columbia University; Dr. Corrado Gini, sociologist of Italy, and Prof. Charles Cestre of the Sorbonne, at Harvard; Henri Focillon, Professor of the History of Medieval Art at the Sorbonne, and Marcel Aubert, Professor of Medieval Archaeology at the Ecole des Chartes, at New York University; Dr. Jorge Manach, of Cuba, in the Spanish Department of Columbia University; and Robin Flower, Deputy Keeper of MSS in the British

Museum and specialist in Irish literature and folklore, at the Lowell Institute, Boston.—DR. S. P. DUGGAN makes the following statement in the October *News Bulletin*: "Fortunately for Americans, the foreign student does learn to speak English well and a considerable number of the people of most foreign countries know some English." While we do not wish to cast any question upon the sincerity of Dr. Duggan's defense of the work of the Institute of International Education, there is no doubt that such sweeping generalizations, which can hardly be supported by facts, will do harm to the teaching of modern languages in this country: since educational administrators, unacquainted with the difficulties a teacher must face in a country far removed from Europe, are apt to demand that the same results be attained in our rarely meeting and often over-crowded classes.—PROF. DANIEL MORNET contributed to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Sept. 7) a very interesting article entitled "Une Ecole française d'Eté aux Etats-Unis", dealing with Middlebury College. However, before having passed judgment upon our universities it might have been advisable for the learned author to have visited them during their regular academic sessions. Also, it might be noted that French is a foreign language to Americans, and if any comparison is to be made, it should not be between the teaching of French in America and in France, but between the teaching of some language that is foreign to both countries. Finally, it should not be forgotten that European languages are not so popular here now as they once were and that, consequently, students, finding opportunities of earning a livelihood through them considerably lessened, are not so eager to engage in a study of these subjects. We welcome criticism, but, at a moment when the study of all European languages is somewhat at stake, it should be constructive criticism.—THE UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO was closed by its Council on Sept. 11 and its Rector, Dr. Fernando Ocaranza, and most of his subordinates resigned on Sept. 17 in protest against the Government's intention to end the University's financial and other troubles by depriving it of autonomy. The Rector complained that the University's income on 10,000,000 pesos, granted to it by the State in 1933 when it became an autonomous body, "has been ridiculously inadequate", inasmuch as formerly it received more than 3,000,000 pesos annually from the State. President Cárdenas retorted that the University had become "antagonistic to the State" and refused further aid until it changed its attitude. Consequently, on Sept. 24, Dean Luis Goerne of the Faculty of Law was unanimously elected Rector and the University was reopened on Sept. 25.—THE FRENCH COMMITTEE on the Alexis de Tocqueville observance decided on July 16 to hold ceremonies at the Sorbonne "similar to and simultaneous with a celebration which is to be held in New York in November." The Committee also announced plans, according to the *N. Y. Times*, "for a voluntary subscription monument to be erected in Paris to de Tocqueville's memory."—THE MORGAN LIBRARY (29 E. 36th St., N. Y.) opened on Oct. 14 "one of the most important exhibitions of armorial bookbindings ever assembled", especially in that it derived from a single collection. The only exhibition ever held in this country nearly approaching this one was that arranged by the Grolier Club in 1895, which, however, represented the combined resources of all the private collectors in New York and vicinity. France is represented in the above exhibition by volumes bearing regal arms from Louis XII to Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, whereas bind-

ings from the libraries of the Popes and lesser dignitaries of the Church are displayed in the Italian section. It was noted that the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries were the Golden Age of the book.—DR. LORENZO GUERRERO, Minister of Public Instruction of Nicaragua, began, on August 26, an educational campaign to encourage all inhabitants on the Atlantic seaboard to learn Spanish. The majority of the Creole element on the coast speak English since they are of Jamaican ancestry and have attended American and English missionary schools.—PROF. T. NAVARRO TOMÁS, the well-known phonetician of the Centro de Estudios Históricos of Madrid, was recently elected to the Spanish Academy.—PROF. F. STROWSKI contributed to *Guinguère* (Aug. 23) a review of F. Brunot's *Histoire de la Langue française des Origines à 1900* (Vol. VIII, Pt. 2), which he justly entitles "La Gloire de la Langue française."—RENÉ GEORGIN contributed to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Sept. 28) a scholarly review of Georges and Robert Le Bidois' *La Syntaxe du français moderne* (vol. I), which, he says, is an "importante contribution à l'étude de notre langue", complementing Brunot's *La Pensée et la Langue* in that Brunot "partait des sens; MM. Le Bidois prennent comme base la division traditionnelle des mots d'après leur forme."—THE INTERESTING REVIEW, *Langue d'Oc et Patois*, edited by Joseph Loubet at Sceaux, has prepared, according to *Comœdia* (Sept. 3), "une liste de disques reproduisant les chants traditionnels de tous les pays d'Oc, les chansons ou noëls populaires, anciens et modernes, dans tous les dialectes, ainsi que les danses régionales et les instruments rustiques: galoubet, vielle, cabrette, hautbois, etc." Prof. Guillaumie, of the University of Bordeaux, is doing a similar work for his region, with the coöperation of the Ecrivains d'Aquitaine.—THE FRENCH ACADEMY completed on Sept. 5 its Dictionary, after having worked on it since Nov. 5, 1885. The last word is no longer *zut*, "familiar interjection to send people to the devil", as in the Academy's seven previous dictionaries, but *zygomatique*, long current in English. Previous editions of the Dictionary were issued in 1694, 1718, 1740, 1762, 1798, 1835 and 1878. The present edition will be prepared for printing by Jean Longnon, Librarian of the Institut. Marcel Prévost, remembering, doubtless, the celebrated *Remarques* of F. Brunot on the Academy's Grammar, hastened to publish, in *Guinguère* (Sept. 13), a defense of the Dictionary, in which he calls attention to his article on the same subject in *Trois Siècles de l'Académie française, par les Quarante*, published last Summer for the tercentenary.—THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOD ANATOMISTS, founded in Paris on July 4, 1931, is now preparing a dictionary of terms which will be published in ten languages.—THE FIRST VOLUME of the *Encyclopédie française permanente* to appear is *Tome X, L'Etat moderne*, edited by Anatole de Monzie, which, according to *Cacambo* (*Candide*, Aug. 1), "est un indigeste amalgame d'articles sur 'l'Etat'. Un certain nombre de politiciens de gauche y démontrent l'excellence de l'Etat parlementaire et de la République des camarades." Other volumes to be issued this year will be *T. XVI, Arts et Littératures*, edited by Pierre Abraham, and *T. VII, L'Espèce humaine*, edited by Paul Rivet.—ANDRÉ THÉRIVE's "Querelles de Langage" in *Nouvelles Littéraires*: Aug. 3, he says that the words, *numéro minéralogique*, applied to autos, is merely an administrative classification and should be replaced by *plaque réglementaire* or *numéro officiel*; he inveighs against the use of *effectuer* for *faire*, *accomplir*, *exercer*, *opérer*, *réussir* à, etc., as a "caprice pédantesque", adding:

"Dans vingt ans, un écrivain dira peut-être *L'Annonce effectuée à Marie*; Aug. 10, he discusses the history of the word *discursif*, which has changed its meaning since the 16th century, stating: "mais je ne saurais blâmer les gens qui emploient *discursif* au sens de *rapide et de courant*"; Aug. 17, he gives some interesting data on the difference of meaning of the adjectives, *admirable*, *pâle*, *éminent*, *honorable*, *respectable* and *brave*, when preceding or following nouns; Aug. 24, he ridicules Noël de la Houssaye's use of "gouffres abyssins" in his volume of poems, *Le Verger d'Arsinoé* (1934), where he should have used *abyssaux* or, better, *abismaux*; he says that *malversions* is "une crase" for *malversations* (cf. *tragi-comédie* for *tragico-comédie*; *idolatrie* for *idololatrie*); Sept. 7, he derides *autorail*, *autopneus* and other technical words created by auto-salesmen, and criticizes Jean Cocteau for the title *Portraits-Souvenir* (which, he says, should have the *s*), as well as his use of *tâche* in a negative sense (for *devoir*); Sept. 21, in reply to the poet, La Houssaye, he cites the verse of Hérédia (*Récif de Corail*): "Eclair la forêt de coraux abyssins", stating: "Et là, je veux être pendu s'il s'agit d'*Abyssinie* et non pas d'*abyssmes*", and he adds that such terms "en foisonne chez Ronsard, son maître" (of La Houssaye); Sept. 28, *chasse à tir*, contrasted by Paul Morand with *chasse à courre*, should be *chasse au tiré* or *au tir*, which, however, is obsolete; the Czech word *robot*, "qui nous vient d'Amérique et date de quelque dix ans", was launched by Karel Kapek.—ROME UNIVERSITY'S NEW CITTÀ UNIVERSITARIA was inaugurated with great solemnity on Oct. 31 by Premier Mussolini in the presence of 340 delegates from foreign universities. The plant consists of a dozen large buildings, modern in their architectural style and containing the most up-to-date equipment. On Nov. 1, the University awarded to King Victor Emmanuel an honorary degree in letters. It may be added that the University only began to award honorary degrees in 1927 when titles were bestowed upon President Nicholas Murray Butler and J. L. Gerig.

NECROLOGY—DR. STARR W. CUTTING, Professor Emeritus of Germanic Languages and Literatures of the University of Chicago since 1923, died in Brattleboro, Vt., his native city, on Oct. 18. Born on Oct. 14, 1858, he was graduated from Williams College in 1881 and studied at the Universities of Leipzig and Geneva (1886-88). After having served as Professor of Modern Languages in the University of South Dakota (1888-90) and Professor of German and French at Earlham College, Ind. (1891-92), he was appointed Assistant Professor of German at the University of Chicago, where he became Head of the Department in 1906. In 1892 Williams College conferred on him the A.M. degree and Johns Hopkins the Ph.D. degree.—GASTON LACHAISE, the well-known Franco-American sculptor, died in New York on Oct. 18 at the age of 53. Born in Paris, he was educated at the Beaux-Arts and came to America in 1906, where he was naturalized in 1916. Examples of his work are to be found in the Cleveland and Newark Museums, as well as in the Morgan Memorial Museum at Hartford, Conn., and the Phillips Memorial Gallery at Washington, D. C. Four decorative panels by him ornament the entrance to the R. C. A. building in Rockefeller Center, N. Y.—DR. OVANDO BYRON SUPER, well-known pioneer in the teaching of Modern Languages in this country, was found dead in bed at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Edith Super

Anderson, at Bakersfield, Calif., on Oct. 29. He was born at Newport, Pa., on March 2, 1848, and was awarded the A.B. degree (1873) and the A.M. degree (1879) by Dickinson College and the Ph.D. degree (1883) by Boston University. After having served as Professor of Modern Languages at Delaware College, Newark (1873-76), he studied at the University of Leipzig and the Collège de France (1876-78). After his return to America he was Professor of Languages in Dickinson Seminary, Williamsport, Pa. (1878-80) and at the University of Denver (1880-84), passing thence to his Alma Mater, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., as Professor of Modern Languages (1884-1900) and Professor of Romance Languages (1900-13). Prof. Super's numerous editions of French and German texts, which were among the first of the kind to be issued in this country, were the *livres de chevet* of students in the '80's and '90's and served as models for later editors. Among the most popular were his *French Reader* (1888), *German Reader* (1896), *Histoire de France* (1900) and *La Fontaine's Fables* (1905). Prof. Super was married to Emma M. Leferts of New York on July 13, 1880. Besides his daughter, a brother, Dr. Charles William Super, who was President of Ohio University (1884-1907), survives.—ANTOINE ALBALAT, whose two volumes, *L'Art d'écrire enseigné en vingt leçons* (1899) and *La Formation du Style par l'Assimilation des Auteurs* (1901), brought upon his head, at the same time, the thunder of the conservative Brunetière in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* as well as the irony of the radical Remy de Gourmont in the *Mercure de France*, died in Paris late in September from the after-effects of an automobile accident. Born at Brignoles (Var) in 1856, he began his literary career, while yet young, with various novels: *L'Inassouvie*, *La Faute d'une Mère*, etc. His *Souvenirs de la Vie littéraire* deal chiefly with the groups of the Café Vachette and the Café Mahieu, especially Louis Dumur and his friends. Albalat, says: *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Sept. 28), "était réputé parmi ses amis pour son horreur de la poésie: pourtant il avait débuté à Toulon par la publication d'un roman en vers (!) qui s'intitule *Marie ou la Fleur des Tombes*."—ITALO AZZONI, noted conductor, who was the teacher of Arturo Toscanini, died at Parma, Italy, on Oct. 1 at the age of 81. During the 1890's he was, for several seasons, conductor of the Metropolitan Opera of New York and later served for 30 years as Professor of Harmony and Composition at the Arrigo Boito Conservatory.—HENRI BARBUSSE, famous French writer, died at Moscow on Aug. 30. He was born at Asnières, near Paris, on May 17, 1874, and studied at the Collège Rollin and the University of Paris. After having entered the journalistic field as a dramatic critic, he published in 1895 his first work, *Pleureuses*, a small volume of poems. His first novel, *Les Suppliants* (1903), was tinged with atheism, pessimism and internationalism. Then followed *L'Enfer* (1908) and *Le Feu*, his best-known work (translated into English under the inappropriate title, *Under Fire*) which won the *Prix Goncourt* in 1916. The depressing pessimism of *Le Feu* aroused the ire of the militarists, who accused him of defeatism. After *Clarté*, he published works, which (excepting *Les Enchaînements*, a vast epic essay) are less literary in character, but of a more polemical trend, such as *La Lueur dans l'Abîme*, *Paroles d'un Combattant*, *Les Bourreaux*, *Élévation*, and *Russie* (1930). His last work, *Les Judas de Jésus*, which pictures Christ as an unrecognized revolutionary whose true character was later distorted by the Church, was criticized by the

Soviet Encyclopaedia as lacking "sufficiently convinced Marxist ideology." Barbusse, along with Romain Rolland and André Gide, was an ardent advocate of internationalism and peace and, for that purpose, he came to the United States in the Fall of 1933, where he lectured twice in New York and once in Philadelphia. After the War, he became correspondent for the Socialist newspaper, *L'Humanité*, and founded the World Committee against War and Fascism. His health was wrecked in the War and he had been frail since. He was buried at Père Lachaise Cemetery on Sept. 7, the funeral cortège threading its way through 200,000 mourners. His widow, daughter of the poet, Catulle Mendès, survives.—DR. PROSPER BOISSONNADE, Honorary Dean of the Faculté des Lettres of Poitiers, died at Poitiers in the latter part of July. He began teaching at Angoulême, where the Tharaud brothers were among his pupils, and was transferred to Poitiers in 1895. Author of the excellent *Histoire du Poitou*, he was *Lauréat de l'Institut* 14 times and was President of the Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest as well as of the Archives Historiques du Poitou. He bequeathed to the city of Poitiers his large library of local and general historical works.—JULES CAMBON, former Ambassador to Washington (1897-1901) and Berlin and oldest member of the French Academy—to which he was elected in 1918—died at Vevey, Switzerland, on Sept. 19 in his 91st year. He and his brother, Paul (1843-1924), who was for 22 years Ambassador at London, were educated for the legal profession at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, where their father and grandfather, well-known judges, had also studied. After having served as Governor General of Algeria (1891-97), Jules came to Washington where he distinguished himself by writing the protocol that ended the Spanish-American War. In 1901 he was transferred to Madrid and in 1907 to Berlin, where he rendered splendid service. Though he was regarded as an unusually able diplomat, he wrote very little, his publications consisting of some scattered articles on diplomacy which appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Les Annales*, *L'Esprit International*, etc. Among those published in English were "The Future of Diplomacy" (*N. Y. Times*, Sept. 18, 1921); "Security" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed.); "The Foreign Policy of France" (*Foreign Affairs*, Jan. 1930); and "Old and New Diplomacy" (1931).—MAURICE CHEVRIER (pseudonym of Cremnitz), the poet, died at Paris toward the end of August. He belonged to the "bateau-lavoir" generation and, though a friend of Apollinaire, he declined to follow him in his audacious prosodical innovations. Faithful to regular verse, he continued, according to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Aug. 31), "la pure tradition de l'Ecole Romane."—HENRY GORDON COMBER, Treasurer of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Eng., and an authority on modern languages, died at London on Sept. 13 in his 66th year.—MANUEL BARTOLOMÉ COSSÍO, Greek scholar and art critic, who was the first Spaniard given the title of "Honorary Citizen" by the Republic, died in Madrid on Sept. 2 in his 79th year. His outstanding study, *El Greco*, stamped him as one of the greatest authorities on the life and work of the artist. During the last years of his life he served as Director of the Museo Pedagógico Nacional.—DRANEM, probably the most popular comedian and *diseur* of France during the past 30 years, died at Paris on Oct. 13 at the age of 66. Born as Armand Ménard, he started life as a jewelry-worker, but his talents as a comedian and singer led him to the music halls, where he adopted, as a stage-name, his last name spelled backwards. Be-

fore the War he appeared often in the Concerts Parisien and Mayol as a comic *pioupiou*, but, during the last 15 years, he made his biggest successes in operettas, such as *Phiphi*, played at the Trianon-Lyrique and other theatres. In 1910 he made one of his rare appearances in classic comedy, by playing in Molière's *Médecin Malgré Lui* at the Odéon. Recently the French Government rewarded him with the insignia of Officer of the Legion of Honor for his work in establishing a home for old actors.—GUSTAVE GUICHES, novelist, dramatist, and a brilliant *chroniqueur* of the *Gaulois*, *Figaro* and *Echo de Paris* in the 1890's, died in Paris early in August. He began his literary career as a Naturalist and had just published his first two novels, *Céleste Prudhomme* and *L'Ennemi*, when, on Aug. 18, 1887, along with Lucien Descaves, J.-H. Rosny, Paul Bonnetain and Paul Margueritte, he issued in *Le Figaro* the famous *Manifeste des Cinq*, directed against Zola's *La Terre*. In later years he, like all of the other signers of the *Manifeste*, regretted very much this "péché de jeunesse." Other works by him are the novels, *La Tueuse*, *L'Imprévu*, *En Vacances*, two volumes of souvenirs, *Au Banquet de la Vie*, and the dramas, *Snob*, *Ménage Moderne*, *Vouloir*, etc.—SENATOR HENRY DE JOUVENEL, Minister in several French cabinets and noted as a statesman, diplomat and orator, died suddenly in Paris on Oct. 4 at the age of 59. For many years he was Editor-in-Chief of *Le Matin* and was author of *Huit Cents Ans de Révolution française* and *La Vie orangeuse de Mirabeau*, which has been translated into English. His first wife was Mme Colette, the celebrated novelist, from whom he was divorced before 1930.—ISIDORE DE LARA, whose real name was Cohen, well-known opera-composer, died in Paris on Sept. 2. He was born in London on Aug. 9, 1858, and studied under Mizzucati and Lamperti in Milan and under Lalo in Paris. His first important work was a cantata, *The Light of Asia*, which, at the suggestion of Victor Maurel, was converted into an opera and produced at Covent Garden in 1892. Then followed *Messaline*, first given at Monte Carlo in 1899 and later produced, without success,—three performances in 1901-02—by the Metropolitan Opera Co., notwithstanding its brilliant cast, consisting of Calvé, Scotti, Alvarez, Journet and Gilibert. Others of his works were *Amy Robsart* (1892; produced at Covent Garden), *Moïna* (1897), *Solés* (first mounted at Cologne, 1907), *Sanga*, perhaps his best work (1906), *Nail* (1912) and the light operas, *The Three Masks*, drawn from the drama of Charles Méré (1912), *The Three Musketeers* (1920), *Le Prince de Marocana* and *Le Voilier blanc*. De Lara's music, says the *N. Y. Times* (Sept. 3), "was of the school of Massenet, fluent, melodious and suavely orchestrated, though none of his operas possessed the dramatic strength or originality to win a place in the continuing repertory."—DR. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Professor of Sanskrit in the Collège de France, died suddenly in Paris on Oct. 31 at the age of 72. He was author of many works on Sanskrit literature and India and was President of the Société de Linguistique de Paris.—ANGELICA PALMA, one of South America's most distinguished women writers, whose father, Ricardo Palma, was also a well-known writer, died at Buenos Aires on Sept. 6. She was a Peruvian, and, since 1910, had been famous in South America and Spain. She was also a contributor to North American magazines.—SENATOR ALFREDO ROCCO, Rector of the University of Rome and former Minister of Justice (1925-32), died suddenly at Rome on Aug. 28, at the age of 60. A brilliant jurist, Dr. Rocco had been Professor of Law at

the Universities of Parma, Palermo, Padua and Rome, where he expounded, with his usual fervor, his doctrine of Italian Nationalism; and, when Fascism came, he was called upon to formulate the laws of the corporate State. In 1926, J. L. Gerig, then President of the Italian Digest and News Service, Inc., requested him to prepare an authoritative elucidation of his theories, which was later issued in the form of a pamphlet, entitled *The Political Doctrine of Fascism*, under the joint auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Italian Digest and News Service.—ALFRED VALLETTE, Editor of the *Mercure de France* since its creation in 1894 and husband of the writer, Rachilde (née Marguerite Eymery), died in Paris early in October. He began his literary career as editor of a small review, *Scapin*, and as author of a novel *Vierge*. Then, with Jules Renard, Remy de Gourmont, Louis Denise, Louis Dumur, Aurier and others, he founded the *Mercure* and, in 1895, inaugurated its *Collection*, which at once became famous through the publication of Gourmont's *Le Latin mystique*, Albert Samain's *Jardin de l'Infante* and Pierre Louys' *Aphrodite*. Vallette was a most careful editor, never failing to read the proof of every issue of the *Mercure*. His successor is Georges Duhamel.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH reported, on Oct. 31, a list of 50 books recommended most often by the faculties of 55 colleges as well as 50 books chosen by 1,638 students in 53 colleges in the United States and Canada. In the teachers' list only two books by non-English authors are recommended, viz., Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*; whereas of the ten by Continental authors in the students' list the following are by writers of the Latin nations: Boccaccio, *The Decameron*; Hugo, *Les Misérables*; André Maurois, *Ariel*; Rostand, *Cyrano* and Voltaire, *Candide*. Furthermore, two of the five written by Germans, Scandinavians and Russians deal with French historical characters, viz., Emil Ludwig, *Napoleon*, and Stefan Zweig, *Marie-Antoinette*.—EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY has made an English verse-translation of Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal*, which will be published in January.—THE NEW "SOCIÉTÉ DES ECRIVAINS CANADIENS-FRANÇAIS" is discussed in an article entitled "Renaissance ou Naissance littéraire française?", contributed by Charles Léoboldt to *Nouvelles Littéraires* of Aug. 10.—EDMOND PILON, in his recent work, *Belles de jadis*, relates amusingly the persistent, but vain efforts of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, while in Ile-de-France, to seduce Mme Poivre, wife of the Intendant. After the death of her husband, this virtuous woman married, in 1790, Dupont de Nemours, who took her to the United States. From there Dupont sent the author of *Paul et Virginie* a warmly congratulatory letter, to which he added the brief postscript: "Mme Dupont vous salue." This indifference so enraged Bernardin that he eliminated furiously from his MS of the *Voyage à l'Ile-de-France*, according to Georges Mongrédien (*Nouvelles Litt.*, Aug. 17), "les éloges dithyrambiques qu'il avait d'abord consacrés à M. et Mme Poivre."—CITY COLLEGE's students of French held a Poe Festival on Oct. 15 in honor of the French writer, Suzanne d'Olivera Jacowska, who read several of her French verse-translations of Poe's poems.—MME GISELE D'ASSAILLY, a descendant of Lafayette, has founded in Paris *La Collection La Fayette*, the purpose of which is "d'aider à la fois à la diffusion de la littérature américaine en France et de contribuer à faire mieux connaître nos auteurs aux Américains." The

first volume to be issued in the series is a French translation, *Mirage de la Vie*, par Fanny Hurst.—JEAN COCTEAU contributed, to *Gringoire* (Aug. 23), a very eulogistic review of *Les Dimanches de la Comtesse de Narbonne*, whose author, Daisy Fellowes, is the daughter of the Duchess Decazes, née Singer, of the family of the American inventor of sewing-machines.—AWARDS OF PRIZES. The "Maison de Poésie", founded by the poet who wrote under the pseudonym of Emile Blémont, awarded its four annual prizes as follows: *Petitdidier* (15,000 fr.), to François Bernouard's four volumes of verse, *Franchise militaire*, *Le Bonheur du Jour*, *La Berlue rayonnante* and *Trésors de l'Humanité*; *Emile Blémont* (5,000 fr.), to *Les Sirènes de l'Estuaire*, by Julien Guillemard, a poet of Havre; *Paul Verlaine* (5,000 fr.), to Pierre Pascal's *Ode triomphale*; and *Edgar Poë* (5,000 fr.), "réservé aux poètes étrangers de langue française", to *La Montagne inspirée*, by Charles Corm, a Lebanonese living in Beirut, who won over competitors representing 14 different nations.—SEVENTEEN PUBLISHERS, representing 13 different countries, founded recently *Le Grand Prix International du Roman*, amounting to 300,000 fr. There is no restriction "en ce qui concerne le thème et la composition" except that authors must exclude from their works "tout caractère scandaleux ou diffamatoire". *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Aug. 24), consequently, asks if *Le Voyage au Bout de la Nuit* would be considered "scandaleux".—LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ECRIVAINS D'AQUITAINE, whose President is Serge Barranx and whose members include Mme Jean Balde, Maurice Martin du Gard, Louis Ducla, Vital-Mareille, J.-F. d'Estalens, B. Nabonne, Jean de Vidouze, Prof. Guillaumie of Bordeaux, etc., held its annual meeting at Pau on Aug. 12-14. One of the aims of the Society is to develop closer literary relations with Canada.—EMILE HENRIOT made recently a very interesting suggestion (*Nouvelles Litt.*, Aug. 10), i. e., the creation of an *Antbologie des Découvreurs*. Included therein would be the following: François Coppée's newspaper-article which made Pierre Louys and his *Aphrodite* famous; Bourget's article in the *Débats* which rendered the same service to Barrès and his first book, *Sous l'Œil des Barbares*; Barrès on François Mauriac; and Mirbeau on Maeterlinck's *Princesse Maleine*. Going back in history he would note the discovery of Chénier by Latouche, the forgotten author of *La Vallée aux Loups* and *Fragoletta*; Lamartine's revelation of *Mireille*; Baudelaire's discovery of Poe; Balzac's and Bourget's popularization of Stendhal; Robert Dreyfus' service to Gobineau; Verlaine's to Rimbaud; Sainte-Beuve's to Ronsard; Gautier's (in *Les Grotesques*) to Théophile de Saint-Amont; Comte de Tessan's 18th-century studies on the literature of the Middle Ages and Charles d'Orléans; Abbé Goujet's 18-volume *Bibliothèque française*, which saved many poets and writers from oblivion; and Fontenelle's 5-volume *Recueil de Barbin* (1693), with its selections from old French poets.—THE QUINCENTENARY of Guillaume Fichet, who set up the first printing-press in France at the Sorbonne, will be celebrated in Savoie in 1936.—RÉTIF DE LA BRETONNE (1734-1806) and his "212 tomes en 154 volumes, superbement reliés et dorés par Chambolle-Duru", continues to fascinate Parisian critics. This is especially true of his 11th novel, *Le Ménage parisien*, in which Crébillon fils (1707-77) is satirized. Though he was the royal censor, Crébillon, nevertheless, gave his approval to the work, probably because, 30 years earlier, he himself had treated Marivaux in the same manner.—THE TERCENTENARY of the Académie Française brought forth the fact that,

on Aug. 8, 1793, Abbé Grégoire read, before the Convention, a report directed against the Academy in which he declared that "dans un pays libre, les institutions inutiles ne doivent pas subsister."—FERNAND GREGH completed on Sept. 21 his series of sketches of some 40 poets, under the heading, "Histoire de la Poésie française au XIXe Siècle" (*Nouvelles Litt.*), with a study of Verlaine. He expects to begin in December a similar series on the 20th century with Mallarmé and Rimbaud, "de qui l'influence se continue par leurs disciples jusqu'à nous."—J.-J. BROUSSON, in an excellent review of Albéric Cahuet's *Un Werther féminin: Lucile de Chateaubriand* (*Nouvelles Litt.*, Aug. 10), calls this work, "plus qu'un événement littéraire: c'est une justification; c'est une réhabilitation . . . plus qu'une biographie, c'est un chef-d'œuvre de délicatesse et de pittoresque, et c'est surtout un acte de courage."—A MONUMENT OF CHATEAUBRIAND was unveiled at Coppet on the Lake of Geneva in September.—GEORGES THOUVENIN reveals, in an article in the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, that Hugo's first conception of Gavroche, *Fouillou* (*Les Misérables*, Bk. I, 3rd Pt., Chap. IV), was drawn from the popular boy-character, Fouyou, in the vaudeville, *Le Maître d'Ecole*, by Lockroy and Anicet-Bourgeois, played at the Variétés, Mch. 20, 1841.—FERNAND VANDÉREM published, in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (June 20), a letter of Mme Desbordes-Valmore, dated "Bruxelles, 15 mars 1818", which had been found in a volume of her *Poèmes* (1820), auctioned at the Barthou sale. The poet states emphatically in this letter, addressed to her publisher, Louis, that had it not been for his encouragement as well as that of her godfather, Dr. Alibert (who, incidentally, bore the expenses of publishing her first volume, *Les Élégies*, the following year), she would have discontinued writing verse.—PAUL SIGNAC, the artist, who died recently (cf. THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXVI, 1935, p. 284), left a splendid Stendhal collection.—BALZAC, according to Y. Rambosson (*Comœdia*, Sept. 2-3), "a imité le père Grandet sur un vieux bourgeois de Saumur, d'une avarice raffinée, du nom de Niveleau."—MARCEL BOUTERON's preface to the "remarquable édition" of Balzac's *La Comédie humaine* (*Bibl. de la Pléiade*) constitutes, according to Cacambo (*Candide*, Aug. 15), "dans sa brièveté, une étude complète de cette œuvre géante et de son histoire."—THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the "Bataille Symboliste" was commemorated in Paris in August. Jean Moréas, replying to A. Bourde's severe criticism of the group that he called "décadents" (published in *Le Temps*), gave, in the *XIXe Siècle* (Aug. 11, 1885), the names of the following, whom he called "Symboliques": Mallarmé, Verlaine, Laurent Tailhade, Charles Vignier, Charles Morice and himself. Later on the names of Tristan Corbière, Lautréamont, Rimbaud, Laforgue and Samain were added thereto.—LA SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS DE JULES VERNE was formed recently and has its headquarters at 21, rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris.—THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the death of Alphonse Allais, the witty columnist of the *Journal*, was commemorated at Honfleur on Sept. 7.—THE LETTERS OF LOTI, published by Mme Marc Hélys, under the title *Le Secret des Désenchantées*, are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.—A BUST OF PIERRE LASSEUR, author of *Renan*, *Mise au point*, *Réflexions sur la Violence*, etc., carved by Gabard, was unveiled by the Académie de Béarn at Orthez on Sept. 22.—HENRY BORDEAUX, in an article entitled "Anna de Noailles en Savoie" (*Nouvelles Litt.*, Aug. 31), states that within a few months a monument

of her will be unveiled on her estate at Amphion on the border of the Lake of Geneva.—PIERRE DE NOLHAC unveiled at Falgères, Puy-de-Dôme, in August a commemorative tablet on the birthplace of Léon Boyer, schoolmaster and author of a single volume of poems, *Genêts et Rocailles*, who fell at Verdun, Mch. 10, 1916, at the age of 30.—THE ECCENTRIC POITEVIN POET, M. Jullian, who died several months ago, wrote in 1923, in 60 verses, his own *faire-part*, which, he directed, was to be distributed some time after his death. André Levinson and the publisher, Henry Kistemaekers, who died last year, made similar arrangements regarding their passing.—F. STROWSKI states, in a review of Henry Durieux, *La Poésie française contemporaine (1885-1925)* (*Gringoire*, Sept. 20), that there are 250 French poets, "tous contemporains, ayant publié des livres et qui comptent." And if one adds thereto those who only publish their poems in reviews, the total number will approximate 500.—FRANCIS JAMMES finds himself in the unusual position of being effusively praised and vigorously condemned at one and the same time. As an example of the former, one may cite the closing sentence of René Lalou's review of his new volume of poems, *De tout temps à jamais*, in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Aug. 17): "C'est aussi que Francis Jammes ne s'est jamais montré avec plus de bonheur, dans sa forme comme dans son inspiration, le poète de la grâce." But the same work contains a preface in which Jammes declares that "la critique est la plupart du temps corrompue par l'argent de la publicité, la politique, l'opportunisme, la soif des honneurs." Thereupon, the Comité de l'Association de la Critique Littéraire demanded of him a "rétractation des propos diffamatoires envers la critique littéraire qui se trouvent dans la préface de son dernier livre", and as, of course, this was refused, the Comité declared that "cette accusation purement calomnieuse constitue un acte d'une légèreté inconcevable et que de tels procédés contreviennent à la fois à la courtoisie et à l'honnêteté professionnelles." And the "Epilogue" is signed by Jean Vignaud, Edmond Jaloux, André Thérive, Pierre Audiat, Auguste Bailly, André Billy, Gabriel Boissy, Maurice Bourdet, Jean Cassou, Louis Gillet, Maurice Martin du Gard, Henri Massis, André Maurois, Marcel Prévost, Léon Pierre-Quint, Gaston Rageot, F. Strowski and Marc Varenne.—LE GROUPE DES QUINZE is the name of a new poetic society formed by Xavier de Magallon, Fernand Mazade, Jean Royère, Vincent Muselli, Georges Fourest, J.-L. Aubrun, L.-C. Bonnard, Paul Valéry, Abel Bonnard, E. Haraucourt, Léo Larguier, Gaston Boissy, P. Chabaneix, Jacques Dyssord and Pierre Camo. They plan to elaborate their program this Winter.—TRISTAN DERÈME explains in a recent volume of 300 pages, *Le Violon des Muses*, his latest discovery in versification, *la contre-assonance*, which consists of varying the vowel of the rhyme-word while keeping the consonants intact; thus: "Pour rimer avec *lèvres*, on emploie le mot *fièvres*. / Si l'on use de la contre-assonance, on emploiera le mot *livres*."—PAUL CLAUDEL'S FRIENDS, according to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Sept. 29), are making "de pressantes démarches . . . pour qu'il accepte de briguer à nouveau les suffrages des Quarante" for the chair of a fellow-diplomat, the late Jules Cambon who, it may be added, voted for him at the last elections.—ANDRÉ MAUROIS, JULES ROMAINS AND FRANÇOIS MAURIAC celebrated recently their 50th birthdays, July 26, Aug. 26 and Oct. 11 respectively. Jean Giraudoux is 53; Georges Duhamel was 51 on June 30; Pierre Benoit and Francis Carco are 49; and Paul Morand, 47.—MARCEL PRÉVOST, in an article entitled

"Décadence d'un Genre littéraire: le Conte" (*Gringoire*, Aug. 30), concludes that the *conte* is "un genre aujourd'hui non seulement déchu de sa gloire, mais traité, tant par les auteurs que par le public, avec une spéciale indifférence." This he attributes to the form of present-day newspapers, wherein the shorter *billet du matin*, created by Jules Lemaître in *Le Temps*, still has vogue.—FRANCE'S MOST RECENT LITERARY QUARREL is the one now raging between "la littérature populiste", headed by André Thérive, and "la littérature prolétarienne", whose "champion" is Henry Poulaille. In a recent article in *Le Temps*, the former speaks of the latter's *Les Damnés de la Terre* as "le second volume d'un roman-mémoires qui relève de la littérature prolétarienne et nargue les lettres tout court." On the other hand, Poulaille scorns his adversary as "un mauvais esthète et un affreux bourgeois."—ANDRÉ GIDE will, it seems, succeed the late Henri Barbusse as the leader of the Communist writers in France.—HENRY POULAILLE, L. Gachon, Edouard Peisson, L. Gerbe, L. Massé and others, began issuing in August a new "revue de combat", entitled *A Contre Courant*, the aim of which is to defend and propagate "la littérature du populisme."—YVES GANDON began in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Sept. 7), a series of articles entitled "Leur Style", the first two of which were devoted to Jean Giraudoux and Paul Claudel.—JEAN-PIERRE MAXENCE, in an unusually stimulating review (*Gringoire*, Aug. 9) of Alphonse de Châteaubriant's collection of 7 stories, bearing the title of the first one, *La Meute* (which he calls "admirable"), says: "On souhaite seulement qu'un romancier auquel le mot 'grandeur' peut être appliqué en toute équité sache distinguer le fort et le faible de son art." Recalling then André Gide's phrase, *viz.*, "C'est avec les bons sentiments qu'on fait de la mauvaise littérature", he gives as his qualities, "nobles intentions, la pensée de certaines pages, phrases amples et riches, noblesse, grandeur, désir louable de mettre en valeur l'excellence de traditions campagnardes", and his defects, "l'éloquence, l'obscurité et le symbolisme." And he concludes by saying that he is, perhaps, "le seul romancier des 'deux infinis' au vingtième siècle."—JACQUES DE LACRETELLE completed this Summer his "roman cyclique", *Les Hauts-Ponts*, with a 4th volume, *La Monnaie de Plomb*.—GUSTAVE ROUD, the Vaudois poet, author of *Feuillets*, *Adieu*, *Petit Traité de la Marche en plaine*, *Essai pour un Paradis*, was awarded last year the *Prix du Roman de la Société des Ecrivains Suisses*.—GABRIELE D'ANUNZIO presented recently to the French Government several MSS of his own works, among which was his *Ode à Victor Hugo*. Incidentally, the poet, like Hugo, Dumas père, Balzac, Musset, Gautier and Sully-Prudhomme, has a great horror of the number 13, with the result that he dates his letters, written on the 13th of a month, 12 + 1. On the other hand, Elian J. Finbert, whose name contains 13 letters, won on a May 13 the 13th prize of the Renaissance awarded by a jury of 13 members.—THE TERCENTENARY of the death of Lope de Vega, whose *San Isidro* weighed importantly in the Vatican's decision to canonize the patron of Madrid and of all Spanish farmers, would have passed unnoticed in Madrid, where he was born (Nov. 25, 1562) and died (Aug. 27, 1635), had it not been for adaptations of three of his works billed by the small, but beautiful, Teatro Español. These "experiments", in which song and dance were introduced, were made by the youthful playwright and poet, Federico García Lorca, in *La dama boba*, *Fuenteovejuna* and *El villano en su rincón*, with the collaboration of Cipriano Rivas

Cherif, Director of the School of Theatrical Art, Enrique Casals, composer and musical director, Fontanals, for decorations, and Margarita Xirgu, the little Catalan actress. Apart from these highly interesting and dynamic modernizations—which, it may be noted, were not well attended—not one of the other five leading theatres had works of Lope on its program, nor were there any Governmental or national ceremonies of any sort. In fact, the only ones really loyal to the memory of the "creator of Spanish drama" were a few actors who went through the poorer quarters of the city in mule-carts, giving free open-air performances of his plays. Thus, Lope lives only in the hearts of the people, who well call him "the soul of Spain."—MARCEL PRÉVOST, who occupies the chair of Sardou in the Academy, writes as follows (*Gringoire*, Oct. 4) of *Les Papiers de Victorien Sardou: Notes et Souvenirs rassemblés et annotés par Georges Mouly*, which he calls "un livre surprenant": "Il est amusant de comparer, dans les journaux de l'époque, la froideur polie, presque dédaigneuse, de beaucoup de critiques, pour des œuvres comme *Madame Sans-Gêne*, avec leur enthousiasme pour des productions d'école ou de groupe, dont le titre, avec le nom de l'auteur, a disparu de toutes les mémoires." Students of contemporary literature may well bear these words in mind, for the same may, perhaps, be said of us by the next generation of critics. Finally, it may interest some to know that, in Paris alone, Sardou had "32 domiciles successifs."—GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO's play, *La Città Morta*, with incidental music by Gian Francesco Malipiero, was produced in August in the open-air at the 15th-century castle of Caterina Cornaro, in Asolo, in memory of Eleonora Duse, who is buried there. Two favorite pupils of Duse, Emma Grammatica and Memo Benassi, played the leading rôles.—SACHA GUITRY is alleged, according to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Sept. 29), to have sketched, in his recent *Mémoires d'un Joueur*, the life of his grandfather, René de Pont-Jest, who was the "romancier à la mode" of the *Figaro* before 1900. The dramatist had already made a portrait of him in his volume of souvenirs, *Si j'ai bonne mémoire*.—THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE was re-decorated and modernized this Summer. During the interim its troupe played at the Marigny.—JACQUES COPEAU will manage this season the old Ambigu, and Cora Laparcerie will have charge of the Renaissance. Among other Parisian theatres, the Porte-Saint-Martin has definitely gone over to musical pieces, while the Pigalle, the Champs-Élysées and the Antoine will apparently remain closed. On the other hand, the picture house, "Raspail 216", is to become a small theatre.—THE MOST SUCCESSFUL PARISIAN PLAYS of the past season were Henry Bernstein's *Espoir*, Jean Giraudoux's French version of *The Constant Nymph*, Gaston Baty's *Prosper* and Henri Duvernois' *Rouge*.—NOUVELTIES announced for the present Parisian season include the following: *Comédie-Française*, Paul Raynal's *Le Napoléon unique*; *Odéon*, Louis Verneuil's *Vive le Roi*, acted by Elvire Popesco, and Fernand Gregh's *Amants rustiques*, dealing with Musset and George Sand; *Variétés*, Ivan Noé's *La Femme coupée en morceaux*, Marcel Achard's adaptation of *Trois Hommes sur un Cheval*, M. Dubois' *Le Village émerveillé* and Noé's *Christian*; *Madeleine*, Sacha Guitry's new play about circus folk, with Marguerite Moreno; *Michel*, *Le Magasin de Porcelaine*, the first play of the novelist, Jean Martet, the posthumous *L'Escroc* by Fernand Nozière, and a new play by Roger Ferdinand; *Saint-Georges*, Denys Amiel's *La Femme en Fleur*, with Valentine Tessier and Daniel Lecourtois; *Gymnase*,

Henry Bernstein's *Amours*, with Victor Francen and Claude Dauphin; *Ambassadeurs*, Mlle Marie Bell, the former *sociétaire* of the Comédie-Française, will present a new play by Edouard Bourdet; *Marigny*, a new play by Jacques Deval; *Sainte-Maxime*, a new play by Jacques Natanson; *Bouffes-Parisiens*, Léopold Marchand's first operetta, *Pour ton Bonheur*, lyrics by Albert Willemetz and music by Marcel Lattès; *Michodière*, Rip's *Napoléon*; *Matburins*, *Otello*, adapted by J.-H. Rosny *ainé*; *Nouvelle-Comédie*, Jean Luchaire's *Bérénice*, Jean Bommart's *Le Revenant*, and a new play by Natanson; *L'Euvre*, Jean-Jacques Bernard's *Route Nationale No. 6*; and, finally, Louis Jouvet will produce Giraudoux's *Brutus*, Marcel Achard's *L'Heure des Enfants* and Bernard Zimmer's *Soledad*.—THE FRENCH CINEMA CRISIS has become more acute than ever, for, according to *Marianne*, the production by French firms of full-sized films dropped from 157 in 1932 to 143 in 1933 and to 126 in 1934. This means that foreign films will be more restricted than ever next year. Nevertheless, two new cinemas giving American films have recently been opened, the Potinière, near the Opéra, and the sumptuous hall of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer on the Champs-Élysées.—MARCEL ACHARD states, in *Marianne* (Aug. 28), that the best French films of 1934-35 were Ch. Spaak, *Pension Mimosas*, directed by Jacques Feyder; Marcel Pagnol and Jean Giono, *Angèle*; Léopold Marchand, *Nous ne sommes plus des enfants*; and P. Benoit and J. Natanson, *Les Nuits Moscovites*.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS, produced in New York during the past quarter, include the following, with dates of presentation: Aug. 8, the French film, *Prenez Garde à la Peinture*, adapted from René Fauchois' comedy, criticized as "entertaining, though slow-moving"; Aug. 9, the Mexican film, *Tierra, amor y dolor*, a rather tiresome, though well directed, melodrama containing excellent "shots" of a bull-fight; Aug. 19, the Mexican film, *Clemencia*, based upon Ignacio Altamirano's novel detailing an incident of the French intervention of the 1860's, "an exciting semi-historical picture", splendidly acted by Julian Soler and Consuelo Frank and showing high-class technique; Aug. 23, the French film, *Charlemagne*, recounting the story of a stoker on a private yacht who becomes the ruler of an islet for a few weeks, which, though "repetitious" and "obvious", contains excellent photography and is well acted by Marie Glory and M. Raimu; Aug. 26, Exito-Paramount's Spanish film, *El día que me quieras*, a caustic and fast-moving satire of the business-world, in which Rosita Moreno and the late Carlos Gardel are at their best; Sept. 10, Fox's Spanish film, *Angelita*, a comedy, splendidly acted by Rosita Diaz, who performs "one of the most amusing incidents of its kind ever shown on the screen"; Sept. 15, the Mexican film, *Bobémios*, relating the life of impecunious artists, a routine picture, featuring Amelia de Ilisa, which contains some "unusual photographic effects"; Sept. 20, the French film, *Pêcheurs d'Islande*, based upon Loti's novel, called "a credit to the great French author and to his film-making countrymen", in which certain scenes of Breton life are "done to what may be called perfection" and the acting of Mme Yvette Guilbert is, at times, "tragedy at its best"; Sept. 22, the Mexican film, *El héroe de Nacozari*, depicting the true story of a freight-engineer, who, a few years ago, hauled a burning car of dynamite to a safe distance from the town in Sonora before it blew him into eternity, excellently acted by Ramón Pereda and his support, but of which the photography and sound production are poor; Sept. 24, the French film, *Maria*

Chapdelaine, "a stirring, full-bodied and tremulously beautiful screen-edition of Louis Hémon's now classic novel of French Canadian life", which has "the nobility of an epic poem" and "presents the Gallic cinema at the top of its achievement" and in which André Bacque, Suzanne Després, Madeleine Renaud, Jean Gabin and Alexandre Rignault give "excellent performances"; *Sept. 29*, the Mexican film, *Martin Garatuza*, an old-fashioned melodrama and comedy of the New Spain of the 17th century, well acted by Leopoldo Ortín and his supporting cast; *Oct. 6*, the play, *Il Segno della Croce*, an "impressive, compact and colorful" drama drawn from Sienkiewicz's novel, *Quo Vadis*, by Giuseppe Sterni, and well acted by him and his Teatro d'Arte; *Oct. 13*, the Producciones Latinas film, *Un hombre peligroso*, a mediocre and silly tragi-comedy; *Oct. 14*, the French film, *La Maternelle*, based upon Léon Frapié's novel, a drama of "extraordinary insight, tenderness and tragic beauty", in which the acting of the child, Paulette Elambert, is "memorable"; *Oct. 18*, the Mexican film, *El Rayo*, a mediocre melodrama of a semi-legendary Robin Hood, which is technically poor; *Oct. 27*, Fox's Spanish film, *Rosa de Francia*, relating an episode of the abdication of the Spanish throne in 1724 by Philip V (1683-1746), well acted by Rosita Diaz, Antonio Moreno, and the Mexican actress, Consuelo Frank; *Oct. 28*, the Litoria Italian film, *Dopo una notte d'amore*, a stupid and poorly photographed murder mystery, fairly well acted by Isa Miranda and Mimo d'Oro; *Oct. 29*, René Clair's film, *Le Dernier Milliardaire*, a superb satire, though long and talkative, of royalty and the Fascist State, well acted by Max Dearly; *Oct. 31*, the American film, *The Three Musketeers*, based upon Dumas' novel, "a reasonably entertaining picture", much inferior to the Fairbanks' version of 1921.

MUSIC, OPERA, DISKS AND RADIO—THE SMITH COLLEGE ARCHIVES OF MUSIC, organized recently, has four objectives in view: 1) the formation of a library of photographs and facsimiles of rare editions and MSS; 2) the annual publication of specimens of old and rare music; 3) concerts using this new material; and 4) a seminar doing research with this material. Its publications have been inaugurated by the printing of Francesco Geminiani (1680-ca. 1762), *XII Sonate a Violino, Violone e Cembalo*, based on the first edition (1716), with changes of the second edition (1739) presented in the footnotes. —THE FIRST ISSUE of the *Latin-American Bulletin of Music*, published recently by the University of Montevideo, Uruguay, contains a musical supplement in which are found compositions by J. J. Castro, L. Gianneo, J. C. Paz and E. M. Casella of Argentina; P. H. Allende and C. Isamitt of Chile; H. Villa-Lobos, C. Guarnieri, L. Fernandez and F. Mignone of Brazil; and E. Fabini of Uruguay. —MACARIO SANTIAGO KASTNER issued at Mainz during the Summer an important anthology of old Portuguese harpsichord music, entitled *Cravistas Portuguezas*. Notable therein are *toccatas* and other works by Padre Rodrigues Coelho da Costa, the organist, who wrote during the period of the Philippine domination (1580-1640), José Antonio Carlos de Seixas of Coimbra (1704-42), a pupil of Domenico Scarlatti, and Sousa Carvalho. The typical qualities of this Portuguese music are mysticism, tenderness, the nostalgia of the *saudade*, great humanity and simplicity. —MADRID'S TEATRO DE LA OPERA, which is to replace the old Teatro Real, condemned in 1923 because of its unsafe foundations, is as yet so far from being completed, notwithstanding the

10,000,000 pesetas spent on it to date, that the daily, *A. B. C.*, has started an *enquête* on the subject. It now looks as if the reconstruction of the building, on which all work was suspended from 1931 to 1935, will cost approximately 50,000,000 pesetas, and, before that immense sum can be found, it is feared that the public taste for opera will have disappeared. Furthermore, singers and musicians have been forced by hunger to desert their art for more lucrative fields. Barcelona, and even Bilbao and San Sebastián have large concert auditoriums, but "to Madrid", says the *N. Y. Times* (Oct. 6), "it is still denied."

AN IMPORTANT EVENT of the recent Brussels Exposition was the Fête Nationale Suisse, held on Aug. 1, which included the presentation of René Morax's moving drama, *Tell*, with music by Gustave Doret, and concerts by the Yodelers Alphutti of Zurich, by the municipal band of St. Gall, by Alpine horn groups, etc.—ANDRÉ CŒUROY wrote entertainingly, in *Gringoire* (Aug. 23), of the long and varied daily programs of the carillons in Dunquerque, Bruges, Brussels (two), Antwerp, Bréda, Dordrecht, Delft, Haarlem and Alkmaar.—MAURICE EMMANUEL, Reynaldo Hahn, Paul Landormy, Hugues Panassié, Dominique Sordet, Emile Vuillermoz and Maurice Yvain published recently *L'Initiation à la musique* (400 pp.), which consists of 5 parts: "Un abrégé d'histoire de la musique, une histoire et une technique du chant, une description du matériel instrumental, un dictionnaire analytique des grands ouvrages le plus souvent enregistrés et transmis, et un lexique des termes." Disks illustrating parts of the work are now being issued.—THE PERMANENT COUNCIL FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION OF COMPOSERS, consisting of delegates from 19 different nations, held its annual meeting at Vichy, France, on Sept. 2-9. Subjects discussed were the following: 1) the *droit moral* to protect musical compositions from all forms of piracy; 2) teaching of music; 3) radio; 4) international archives of contemporary music to be established at Venice; 5) the creation at Paris of an International Library of Contemporary Music, with branches in all important music-centres; 6) artistic exchanges. At the same time the International Music Festival gave programs of standard operas and ballets, as well as works of over 60 contemporaneous composers.—DIEPPE celebrated in August the centenary of the birth of Camille Saint-Saëns "avec une représentation exceptionnelle de *Samson et Dalila*", says *Comœdia* (Sept. 3), "dirigée par M. S. Bovy, du Metropolitan Opera de New York."—ANDRÉ CŒUROY urges (*Gringoire*, Aug. 9) that a "recensement touristique du folklore régional et musical" be undertaken before many of the old songs will have disappeared forever.—GEORGES ENESCO's new opera, *Œdipe*, book by Edmond Fleg after Sophocles' tragedy, will have its première at the Paris Opéra in February, with the Australian soprano, Marjorie Lawrence, and the baritone, André Pernet, in its chief rôles. Lucienne Bréval, who heard the score some days before her death, pronounced it "one of the finest works the Opéra has undertaken in many years."—A CRITIC in the *N. Y. Times* (Sept. 29) condemns severely the "slovenly performances" of opera given at the Paris Opéra during the Summer.—SERGE LIFAR, the Russian ballet-master of the Paris Opéra, gave in July the première of his choreographic legend, *Icare*, which aroused much hostile criticism since all musical scores were eliminated from it, being replaced by J. E. Szyfer's "orchestration" for a battery of some 20 instruments. In a "Choreographer's Manifesto", M. Lifar set forth his aims as follows: "A ballet of what-

ever kind, musical or not, must spring from its own origins, and not from music; music must be the servant of the ballet, rather than the contrary." And with this, Emile Vuillermoz (*Candide*, Aug. 1) seems in hearty accord.—THE ITALIAN CABINET, meeting on Sept. 24, decided to place under State control the organization and broadcasting of programs of the E. I. A. R. (Ente Italiano Audizioni Radiofoniche), Italy's sole radio enterprise. Previously directed by Raoul Chiodelli and Francesco Cocchetti, this Turin corporation had attained a high standard of technical and artistic excellence in its opera and symphonic programs.—GUIDO VISCONTI DI MODRONE, the eminent musicologist, conducted this Fall at the Royal Italian University for Foreigners at Perugia an illustrated lecture-course on Italian 18th-century music, the performances of which were given in the fine Sala dei Notari (chamber music), the Cathedral of San Lorenzo (organ concert), the Basilica di San Pietro (oratorios) and the Teatro Morlacchi (operas). Salient offerings included the following: *Salmo 47*, of the collection of 50 Psalms, set to music by Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739), after the paraphrase of Girolamo Giustiniani; the *Stabat Mater* (1736), by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-36); a scene from *Il sacrificio di Abramo*, by Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801); concertos by Vivaldi and Giuliani; and the operas, *Il matrimonio segreto* (1792), by Cimarosa, and *Nina, o la pazzia per amore*, by Giovanni Paisiello (1741-1816).—DOMINIQUE SORDET, writing of Lucienne Bréal, (for her obituary, see THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXVI, 1935, p. 282) as a member of the disk-jury of *Le Grand Prix "Candide"* (*Candide*, Aug. 22), says: "Notre cher et doux président, M. Gustave Charpentier, avait très peur de Mme Bréal. Il était obligé de déployer toutes les ressources de sa diplomatie pour que nos réunions demeuraient pacifiques, malgré l'ardeur mise par l'illustre cantatrice à faire prévaloir ses vues."—GEORGES DEVAISE praises highly in *Gringoire* (Aug. 16) the disks of Lys Gauty of whom he says: "A égale distance de l'exquise Lucienne Boyer et de la lyrique Damia, elle sera la divette de la romance moderne."—GEORGES DEVAISE, writing in *Gringoire* (Aug. 9), praises two disks of which the English titles are certainly original. They are Leo Reisman's *It's an old southern custom* (*sic*) and Enric Madriguera's *You and the night and the music* (*sic*). On the other hand, André Cœurjoly recommends (*id.*, Aug. 2) for the piano, *Swanee River*.

ART, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART purchased, at the sale of the J. P. Morgan collection, the very beautiful miniature of Charles de Cossé, Comte de Brissac (*ca.* 1505-63), by Jean Clouet, founder of the French school of miniature painting. This "most valuable thing in the Morgan collection" is the only known miniature by Clouet, "except for the famous portraits of the seven Preux de Marignan, the companions of Francis I in the celebrated Battle of Marignano." The Museum is also showing two recently purchased French sculptures of the 15th century, *viz.*, a painted stone-statue of St. Francis of Assisi and a painted wood-figure of Frederick, Bishop of Utrecht.—J. D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., purchased on Oct. 4 for the new Cloisters branch of the Metropolitan Museum, now being constructed in Fort Tryon Park at a cost of \$2,500,000, the Chapter room of the Romanesque Abbey of Pontaut, erected near Pau in the early 12th century. Bought by French dealers in 1931 from peasants who were using it as a stable, it was taken apart and re-erected at Mesnil-le-Roy, near Paris. The room (39 ft. wide by

33 ft. deep) is, according to Director H. E. Winlock, "an important example of Cistercian stone-carving, with its three austere semi-circular arches and noble simplicity of architectural form and, together with the Coxa cloister, it will represent the grandeur of the Romanesque in an architectural sequence which covers the period from the 12th to the 15th century." Another part of the Cloister of this same Abbey is in the Toledo, O., Museum.—THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART received recently from the nephew of Vincent van Gogh (1853-90) a loan display of 45 oils and 46 drawings and water-colors, executed by the famous Dutch artist, which will be exhibited on Nov. 6-Jan. 5. The collection, valued at \$1,000,000, represents all of his periods (Holland, Paris, Arles), including six painted while he was incarcerated in the asylum of St. Rémy.—A. W. MELLON gave, on Oct. 14, \$10,000,000 for the construction at Washington, D. C., of "The National Gallery of Art of the United States", which is to contain "only works of art of outstanding merit." As a nucleus, the Gallery will house the Mellon Collection, valued at \$40,000,000, which the former Secretary of the Treasury donated recently to the Mellon Public Educational and Charitable Trust.—THE 33RD CARNEGIE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION which, since its founding in 1896, is "the only international art display in the world", was held at Pittsburgh on Oct. 17-Dec. 9. The 365 paintings exhibited (against 356 in 1934) are by 93 artists (against 52 last year) representing 21 nations (against 13 a year ago), of which those making their first appearance are Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico. Other Latin nations represented are Belgium, France, Italy, Spain and Switzerland. The foreign section will also be shown at the Cleveland, O., Museum of Art on Jan. 2-Feb. 14 and at the Toledo, O., Museum on Mch. 7-April 18. The first prize (\$1,000) was awarded to "Elvira and Tiberio", a deftly brushed portrayal of a South-American Negro couple, by the 33-year old Spanish painter, Hipólito Hidalgo de Caviedes, whose father is a Madrid sculptor. On Oct. 29 the Fine Arts Society of San Diego, Calif., purchased this painting for its permanent collection. First Honorable Mention (\$400) went to "Still Life", by the Belgian, Albert Saverys, who first exhibited at the International in 1925; second Honorable Mention (\$300) was voted to "Coffee", by Candido Portinari, "an outstanding figure in the Brazilian modern art world" (b. San Paulo, 1903); while the Garden Club of Allegheny County prize (\$300), for "the best painting of flowers or a garden", went to the well-known French artist, Maurice de Vlaminck. The American, French, Italian and Spanish sections, as a whole, were considered the best of the displays.—TITIAN's "Portrait of Donna Cecilia Mocenigo di Venezia", executed ca. 1560, was purchased from a royal house of Central Europe on Sept. 24 by a New York collector.—"THE DEATH OF ST. JOSEPH", painted by the Italian artist Andrea Meldolla (1522-82), called "Il Schiavone", in 1573, was stolen from the historic St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Mount Vernon, N. Y., on Sept. 6. The painting was purchased in 1867 and presented to the church two years ago.—DIEGO RIVERA's MURAL, "Man at the Crossroads", which was exiled from Rockefeller Center, N. Y., has been reproduced by the artist and is now enshrined in Mexico's new Palace of Fine Arts, where Orozco's fresco depicting the horrors of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 had already been installed.—ELIZ. L. CARY, the well-known art-critic, notes in the *N. Y. Times* (Sept. 8, 15, etc.) "an increasing interest in the masters of Spanish art and

especially in Goya", to which stimulus has been given by the Metropolitan Museum's Print Room exhibitions and the Brooklyn Museum's recent Spanish Exhibition.—FERNAND LÉGER, the French artist, lectured at the Museum of Modern Art on Oct. 18 on "Painting and Advance Guard Films", illustrated by two films, *viz.*, *Ballet Mécanique*, by Mr. Léger, photographed by D. Murphy, and with a music score by G. Antheil, who reduced it for the pianola, and René Clair's *Cinéma*, a symphonic *entr'acte* from the ballet, *Relâche*, music by Erik Satie, reduced for the piano by Darius Milhaud.—MARGARET BRITTON published recently *A Parallel Chronology of Painters, 1250-1800*, listing in parallel columns the names of important, or relatively important, artists of the Italian, Flemish, German, Spanish, French, Dutch, English and American schools. An appendix lists chronologically some of the outstanding painters of the 19th century.—A NEW LOW in prices was reached in a New York auction on Oct. 12 when Thomas Gainsborough's "Portrait of a Boy in Gray" brought \$220 and Claude Lorrain's "Landscape with Figures", \$280.—THE "CINQ SIÈCLES D'ART" of the recent Brussels Exposition was, according to Paul Fierens (*Nouvelles Littéraires*, Aug. 24), one of the most complete panoramas of Flemish and French art ever brought together. The Exposition as a whole was a great success, having received, according to *Marianne* (Aug. 28), 12,338,394 visitors up to midnight, Aug. 20.—THE LOUVRE received recently as a bequest of the late Baroness Edmond de Rothschild her deceased husband's celebrated collection of about 20,000 engravings of the finest quality and some 7,000 equally important drawings. Included therein are unique niellos by Maso Finiguerra and Antonio Pollaiuolo; the famous French 14th-century xylograph, "Le Portement de Croix", and Italian Renaissance wood-cuts by Leonardo, Raphael, Mantegna, Marcantonio and Jacopo da Barbaris; drawings by Leonardo and Raphael; an album full of Pisanellos; etc.—THE CHANTILLY MUSEUM held in September an exhibition of 360 drawings by Jean Clouet (*ca.* 1485-1542), his son, François (*ca.* 1500-71), and their school. These superb drawings form two-thirds of the collection created by Catherine de Médicis, which passed into the possession of the Grand Condé.—EXPOSITIONS OF RELIGIOUS ART, found in the remote provincial churches of France, are, fortunately, multiplying yearly. Two of the most interesting held this Summer were that of Carcassonne, presenting "œuvres d'art audoises" of the 12th-16th centuries, including a series of superb paintings attributed to Ribera from the church of Lagasse, and that of Grenoble, featured by a 16th-century *rétable* of La Tour-du-Pin.—THE TERCENTENARY of the death of Jacques Callot, the engraver (1592-1635), who was, according to Pierre du Colombier (*Candide*, Aug. 15), "avec Claude Gellée (1600-82), le plus grand artiste de la Lorraine", was commemorated by an exhibition of 921 of his engravings and etchings at Nancy during August. The success of this exhibition in revealing the art of the "Lorraine indépendante" of the 17th century leads the above critic to express the hope that there will soon be held similar displays of the works of other Lorraine artists of that period, notably Georges de la Tour, Jacques de Bellange and Dervet.—LA FÉDÉRATION HISTORIQUE LORRAINE is urging the creation of a "Loterie nationale des Monuments historiques. . . pour sauver nos cathédrales, nos églises de campagne, nos châteaux, nos remparts, nos abbayes, que le Gouvernement, faute d'argent, laisse périr."—LES ÉDITIONS FLOURY published recently the following popular mono-

graphs, beautifully illustrated: Charles Terrasse, *Van Gogh*; Pierre Mac-Orlan, *Lautrec, Peintre de la Lumière froide*, and Georges Rivière, *Degas*.—THE CHAPEL OF ST. ELOI, of the 9th century, was unearthed unexpectedly on Oct. 21 on the Ile de la Cité, Paris.—L'ARCHITECTURE D'AUJOURD'HUI issued in September a 300-page album of sketches and plans by Le Corbusier under the title, *La Ville radiieuse*. The ideas of this architect, who, according to André Salmon (*Gringoire*, Oct. 4), is "le plus discuté d'aujourd'hui", are especially set forth under the heading: "Equipement de la Civilisation machiniste."—ART EXHIBITIONS held in New York during the past quarter include the following with opening dates: Sept. 2, Twelve Twentieth-Century School of Paris Paintings, at the Museum of Modern Art; Oct. 1, Paintings and Drawings (1914-34) by Fernand Léger, at the same museum; 12 Paintings by Six French Artists, from a private collection; Oct. 5, Spanish Exhibition, containing works by El Greco, Velasquez, Ribera, Murillo, Zurbarán, Goya, etc., in the new galleries of the Brooklyn Museum; Drawings (1907-35) by Léger; Old Masters, including El Greco, Greuze and Vigée-Lebrun; Oct. 6, Reproductions of work by Degas; Reproductions of French 19th- and 20-Century Paintings; Oct. 7, Water-Colors and Drawings by Alejandro de Canedo; Oct. 14, Mexican Artists, including Rivera, Siqueiros, Orozco, Merida, Vidaureta, etc.; Oct. 15, Lithographs by the Mexican, Emilio Amero; Paintings and Drawings by Juan Gris; Etchings by Marcel Vertes for *Le Roi Pausole*; Oct. 17, Reproductions of Paintings Exhibited at the Italian Art Show in Paris; Oct. 21, 13 Paintings by Claude Monet; Oct. 22, Ancient Peruvian Textiles, Pottery and Sculpture; Oct. 24, The Museum of Modern Art's Exhibition of Architectural Models by Le Corbusier (pseudonym of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret), who is now on a lecture tour in America; Oct. 29, Cézanne and the Impressionists; Oct. 31, The Brooklyn Museum's Exhibition of Works by Henri Matisse, including illustrations made for Mallarmé's poems; Nov. 1, Etchings and Lithographs by Matisse; Water-Colors by William L'Engle; Reproductions of Works by Van Gogh; Paintings by Maurice Utrillo; Nov. 2, Lithographs and Etchings by Daumier.—HIGHEST PRICES paid at art-sales held in New York on Nov. 1-7 include the following: Jean-Jacques Henner, "Jeune Fille Lisant", \$4,600; Claude Monet, "Le Bras de Jeufosse: Giverny," \$3,400; Charles Bargue, "The Flute Player", \$1,800; French Gothic tapestry (ca. 1500) showing the "Judgment of Daniel", \$1,800; Corot, "Un Pêcheur à la Ligne: Souvenir du Pont de Mantes" (1872-3), \$7,900; Daubigny, "La Loire à Nantes," \$4,400; Corot, "Environs de Châtillon-sur-Seine", \$4,100; Fantin-Latour, "La Toilette de Vénus", \$2,300; Millet, "The Woodchopper", \$2,500; Barye, "Horse Surprised by Young Lion", bronze, \$850; Arab Horsemen Killing a Lion", bronze, \$800.

MISCELLANEOUS—STE. GENEVIEVE, the oldest town in Missouri, being 30 years older than St. Louis, celebrated during the week of Aug. 19, its bicentennial, the climax of which was the address of President Roosevelt delivered over the telephone from Washington on Aug. 22. Once the home of the great naturalist, John James Audubon, himself of French parentage, this "mother-town" preserves many of its old French traditions, as shown by its famous flower-gardens, as well as by its "Grands Champs" of 6,000 acres, all enclosed by one fence, but divided into narrow strips under individual-family cultivation. The Keeper of the Fence, says an editorial of the *N. Y. Times* (Aug. 22), "is

one of the most important elective officers, his function being not only to keep the fence in repair but to settle any disputes that may arise among the cultivators of this common field."—A BUST OF SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, given by the French Government, was unveiled at Old Fort Niagara, N. Y., on Oct. 5. At the same time, reproductions of the flags of the French regiments of Béarn, Guyenne, La Marine and La Sarre, which occupied the Fort in the Colonial period, were also presented.—THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY of the witnessing and world pilgrimages of the Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October, 1685, was commemorated with a service in the Huguenot Memorial Church, Huguenot Park, Staten Island, on Oct. 27. Eight crosses were dedicated in honor of the founders of Huguenot settlements in America by 150 delegates of Huguenot societies.—THE HISTORIC OLD SPANISH TRAIL, a picturesque concrete highway, extending for 1,275 miles from St. Augustine, Fla., to San Antonio, Texas, and then another 1,492 miles into San Diego, Calif., will be completed in December. It follows the trail originally broken by the Spanish *padres* and *conquistadores*, "bearing the flag of Church and King", says the *N. Y. Times* (Oct. 27), "westward to the fabled land of gold."—REV. J. A. F. MAYNARD, of the Eglise Française du Saint Esprit, New York, announces, in the September *Messenger Évangélique*, the acquisition by the Musée Huguenot (229 E. 61 St.), during the Summer, of 12 important items, consisting of rare maps, views, documents and portraits of famous French Huguenots.—THE U. S. STATE DEPARTMENT reported, on Sept. 5, that of the 409,149 Americans residing abroad, 222,920 live in Canada and Newfoundland, 31,572 in Italy, 12,346 in Mexico, 12,251 in China, 10,315 in France, 10,252 in Great Britain, 9,361 in the Dominican Republic, and 5,806 in Cuba.—THE LAFAYETTE MONUMENT, a 225-foot granite shaft, which will mark the spot where Lafayette set sail for America in 1777 and also where the first detachments of the A. E. F. landed in 1917, is nearing completion at Verson on the Gironde, near Bordeaux. A model of it was presented recently to Secretary Hull by Ambassador de Laboulaye.—THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS appropriated, on July 25, funds for the construction in Paris of an eight-story building to serve as a permanent war-museum of the American Expeditionary Force, to be known as Pershing Hall.—THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the arrival in New York of the French warship bringing F. A. Bartholdi's great Statue of Liberty was celebrated on June 19. The 50th anniversary of its official dedication by President Cleveland (Oct. 28, 1886) will be observed next year.—LE COURRIER DES ETATS-UNIS announced on Sept. 7 that thereafter it would appear twice weekly, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Founded on Mch. 1, 1828, it is the third oldest newspaper in New York.—TWO IRISH FOLK FESTIVALS were held in New York during the past quarter: The first, directed by Eileen Curran on Aug. 24, drew 2,000 competitors for 250 contests and more than 4,000 spectators, whereas the second, which was the third annual *Feis* of the United Irish Counties Association, held on Oct. 6, attracted 10,000 persons, including 1,470 contestants (386 more than last year).—THE COLUMBIA LIBRARY, through the addition of 33,149 volumes during the past year, now contains 1,476,456 volumes.—THE LITTLE SINGERS OF THE WOODEN CROSS FROM PARIS, conducted by Abbé Fernand Maillet, gave a concert in New York on Oct. 7. Especially praised were O *Magnum Mysterium*, by Vittoria (Spanish, 16th cent.), *Assumpta est*

Maria, by Palestrina (Italian, 16th cent.), *Descende in Hortum*, by Antoine de Fevin (French, 15th cent.), who was reckoned as second only in greatness to Josquin des Prez (ca. 1450-1521), and a *Complainte de Notre Dame* (15th cent.).—RICHARD LE GALLIENNE, in an article entitled "Tracing the Old Walls of Paris" (*N. Y. Evening Sun*), discusses the one built by Etienne Marcel in the 14th century, which Froissart praised and the demolition of which, in 1666-70, gave rise to the famous pun: "Le mur murant Paris rend Paris murmurant."—THE MAGAZINE, *Three Americas*, together with its Spanish edition, *Sin Fronteras*, gave in New York on June 23 a "Latin-American Folk-Festival", in which the Peruvian Inca Art Group and the Argentinian and Mexican Folk Groups took the leading parts.—SICILIANS from Ciminna celebrated for the first time in New York on Aug. 31-Sept. 2 the festival of Santo Vito, their patron-saint.—LA PAZ, Bolivia, observed on Oct. 21, the 387th anniversary of its founding by Capt. Alonso de Mendoza to commemorate the peace between the followers of Pizarro and those loyal to Charles V headed by Pedro de la Gasca.—THE LATE EDOUARD RENARD's important collection of works dealing with the Commune and the origins of the third French Republic was sold at auction in Paris in October.—A FAREWELL LETTER, written by Marie-Antoinette just before her execution to Princess Elizabeth, was discovered, on Sept. 15, in the library of Count Heinrich Apponyi in Opponice, Czechoslovakia.—THE "CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS DIARY", discovered in the Russian Kargopol Museum on Sept. 30, turned out, according to dispatches from Kargopol on Oct. 2, to be "a German 'imitation', printed in 1890".—AIX (Bouches-du-Rhône), the medieval capital and literary centre of Provence, revived this Autumn its famous *Fête des Catherinettes*, beginning on St. Catherine's Day (Nov. 25), when thousands of marriageable girls gathered to pay homage to the Saint, the special guardian of young spinsters.—THE TROCADERO, much admired by American students of the past, is now being demolished to make way for the Exposition of 1937. The Théâtre National Populaire is to be housed in a building to be constructed beneath the terrace, which will also contain the Ethnographical Museum and the Museum of Comparative Sculpture.—THE CHÂTEAU called "Champs", once the residence of Mme de Pompadour, was presented to the French Government in August by its owner, M. Cahen d'Anvers, a descendant of the Belgian financier of Napoleon's entourage.—RARE BOOKS sold recently in Paris include the following: *Madame Bovary*, orig. ed. on vellum, 26,200 fr.; Molière, *Sganarelle*, orig. ed., "publiée sans l'autorisation de l'auteur, et détruite, sauf 8 ou 9 exemplaires", 28,000 fr.; Mansel, *La Fleur des Hystoires*, 15th-cent. Flemish MS, 29,500 fr.; Juvénal des Ursins, *Chroniques de Charles VI* and Jean Chartier, *Chroniques de Charles VII*, 18,100 fr.; Guy de Colonna, *Histoire de la Destruction de Troye*, MS of 1474, 15,000 fr.; Racine, *Ceuvres*, 7 vols., illustrated by Gravelot, 14,500 fr.—"L'INTROUVABLE" says, in an article entitled "Au Pays du Snobisme" (*Nouvelles Litt.*): "On ne dit plus cocotte, ennuyeux, impossible, audacieuse, ou laide, mais poule, rasoir, imbuvable, culottée et moche." In this regard, it may be remarked that the Academy, not realizing the distinction made between the words *ticket* and *billet* in race-track jargon, refused admission to the former into its Dictionary.—A RECENT DECISION of the Garde des Sceaux of France establishes the Legion of Honor as a sort of hereditary nobility. Recalling Napoleon's decree with re-

gard to hereditary rights, some "fourth-generation claimants", *i. e.*, whose ancestors were decorated by Napoleon himself, applied to the Grande Chancellerie of the Legion for confirmation of their nobiliary titles, which, according to the Garde des Sceaux, it was competent to give and, therefore, to grant to them use of the armorial bearings specifically conferred by the Emperor. Consequently, the Grande Chancellerie will probably be obliged to accord the same privileges, notwithstanding the restrictions of Louis XVIII, as well as of the law of 1875, to those of the 120,000 chevaliers and 26,000 upper grades who may wish to claim them.—FERRARA, Italy, celebrated this Summer the 800th anniversary of the consecration of its cathedral, a splendid example of Romanesque style blended with Lombard-Gothic elements.—THE ESPERANTO ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA held its 28th Annual Congress in New York on July 1-3, at which an Academy of Esperanto, consisting of 20 members, was formed and delegates to the International Congress of the Universal Esperanto Association (held in Rome, Aug. 3-10) were selected.—A BRITISH PHILANTHROPIST, John Jaffe, who while living made gifts to the Napoleonic Museum at Malmaison, bequeathed in his will, executed at Nice, on June 29, a sum said to total 500,000,000 fr. to the Institut de France.—ANDRÉ DELMAS, Secretary-General of the powerful Teachers Syndicate which has 80,000 members throughout France, sounded the keynote of its three-day meeting in Paris on Aug. 3 when he demanded, according to the *N. Y. Times* (Aug. 4), that the following three-fold program be adopted: "To seize the banks and imprison the directors, seize the press and imprison the publishers, and purify the administration of the army." It is obvious that the Syndicate wishes to make French jails more popular and democratic.

J. L. G.

THE BELGIAN INSTITUTE IN THE UNITED STATES

REPORT 1

1935

The *Belgian Institute in the United States* is a cultural organization which aims at encouraging the understanding of Belgian culture, literature, science, history and arts in America. Exclusively designed for intellectual and educational purposes, it is a non-political and non-profit-making organization. It aims to establish groups of Americans interested in the higher phases of Belgian culture in the principal American centers, and intends to co-operate with any organization that may pursue similar aims. Its present directory board is composed of Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck, Director, Columbia University; Professor F. Ernst, in charge of the Belgian Library at New York University; Caroline Matulka, Secretary-Treasurer of the *Belgian Institute in the United States*; Rose-Marie Daele of Hunter College of the City of New York, and Professor Barbara Matulka of New York University and Editor of *The Spanish Review*.

The Honorary Committee is composed of:

His Excellency, Count Robert van der Straten-Ponthoz, Belgian Ambassador to the United States.

His Excellency, D. Hennen Morris, American Ambassador to Belgium; Minister to Luxembourg.

His Highness Prince Eugène de Ligne.

The Honorable Raoul Grenade, Belgian Embassy.

Mr. James Gustavus Whiteley, Consul General of Belgium in the United States; Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

†Professor Emeritus Henri Pirenne, Director of the Belgian Institute in Rome; Member of the Belgian Academy.

Mr. Frederick Coykendall, Trustee of Columbia University; Director of the Columbia University Press.

Dr. F. B. Robinson, President of the College of the City of New York.

Mr. Perrin C. Galpin, Secretary of the C. R. B. Educational Foundation.

Dr. Frans van Cauwelaert, Minister of State, Belgium; Member of the Royal Flemish Academy.

Professor Leo van Puyvelde, Liège, Director General of the Belgian Museums; Member of the Royal Flemish Academy.

The *Belgian Institute in the United States* aims to organize cultural activities of a diverse nature, such as lectures, discussion groups, Belgian musical and artistic gatherings, receptions for Belgians distinguished in the intellectual fields, the fostering of contacts for Belgian students in the United States, commemorations of Belgian events, the establishment of courses on Belgian literature and culture in American institutions, etc. It is hoped, if sufficient support is forthcoming, to issue a *Belgian Review* that would be the chronicle and mirror of all Belgian activities in the United States.

As a part of this inclusive task, the *Belgian Institute in the United States* has co-operated in the organization of a Belgian Division in the *Modern Language Association of America*. It has organized memorial services for the late King Albert and for the Bi-Centenary of the Prince de Ligne; it has sponsored a number of lectures and such artistic manifestations as the recitals of Belgian poetry and Belgian music. It appeals to all Americans who are interested in Belgian culture, and to all Belgians without distinction of language or creed, in a spirit of cultural fraternization.

Besides these activities, the *Belgian Institute in the United States* has issued under its auspices about forty volumes of Belgian interest, which are constantly being acquired by American libraries and members of the *Belgian Institute in the United States*. It intends, however, to increase its publications very materially in the near future, so as to constitute a still stronger cultural link between America and Belgium.

The publications include such important studies as Professor A. Bayot's edition of *Le Poème Moral. Traité de Vie Chrétienne écrit dans la Région Wallonne vers l'An 1200*, and Professor J. Gessler's *Le Livre des Mestiers de Bruges et ses Dérivés. Quatre anciens Manuels de Conversation*, Mr. F. Leuridant, *L'Abbé Pagès et ses Chansons*, and the valuable bibliography of J. Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des Impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, with a preface by Dr. Maurice Sabbe, Director of the Plantin Museum of Antwerp. Because of the wide interest aroused in the celebration of the Bi-Centenary of Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne, several of his works have been issued, among them the *Préjugés militaires* and *Fantaisies militaires* edited by Baron de Heusch, *Mémoires* edited by Mr. Eugène Gilbert, *Lettres à Eugénie sur les Spectacles* edited by Professor Gustave Charlier, etc., as well as studies on the Prince de Ligne by Mr. F. Leuridant. Among the studies of modern Belgian literature are Professor B. M. Woodbridge, *Le Roman Belge contemporain*, which has been crowned by the

Royal Belgian Academy, Professor F. R. Pope's *Nature in the Work of Camille Lemmonier*, and Professor F. De Backer's *Contemporary Flemish Literature*. The Art Series includes Professor Leo van Puyvelde's *L'Œuvre authentique d'Adam van Noort, Maître de Rubens*, his *Le Génie de Rubens*, and Professor J. Gessler's *Pour les Historiens de l'Art: Le "Journaal" de C. Huygens, le Jeune*.

BELGIAN DIVISION MEETINGS.

The *Belgian Institute in the United States* lends its full co-operation to the Belgian Division of the *Modern Language Association of America*, which, every year, brings together in a different University, a number of American professors interested in Belgian cultural matters and especially in Belgian literary history and its relation to other literatures. The several meetings held up to the present time have been eminently successful and have stimulated a deep interest in Belgian cultural matters in an intelligent and appreciative audience. The very variety of the studies presented, most of which have appeared in print since the time of their presentation, may give an idea of the scope of this work. In 1932 the meeting was held in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; in 1933 the meeting took place in St. Louis, Missouri, under the auspices of Washington University; in 1934 the convention took place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in co-operation with the University of Pennsylvania and Swarthmore College. The next meeting, for the year 1935, will be held in the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, at which the following papers will be presented:

Marcel Françon of Harvard University, Michel Riz's *Changement de Fortune en toute prospérité*. (This treatise was composed for Margaret of Austria by Michel Riz (Riccio). Two manuscripts are extant, one in Paris, fr. 14940, the other in Vienna, Codex 2625. Michel Riz [born about 1445] was a professor of law and a lawyer in Naples before the French invasion. Subsequently, he became an intimate friend of Charles VIII at whose death he was taken into the service of Louis XII and played an important political rôle. He has dedicated the treatise, "Changement de Fortune", to Marguerite hoping that she would help him regain his wealth in Naples. Michel Riz has limited himself to developing an old literary topic. He was mainly inspired by Seneca and Boetius).

Benjamin M. Woodbridge of Reed College, *Edmond Glesener, A Walloon Novelist*. (A portrait of Edmond Glesener as realistic novelist with an eye for archetectonics of fiction, humorist, satirist of contemporary society, lover of vigor and freedom, stylist of sober tradition. Psychologist rather than painter, he owes his originality to the fusion of realistic and psychological genres. He is concerned primarily with lower strata, social and moral, of humanity, but offers much variety. Brief examination of his novels and short stories shows danger of snap judgment as to models, but suggests comparison of his manner with that of Lesage, Flaubert and Maupassant. Across his studied objectivity may be found hints as to his own tastes. His place in contemporary Belgian fiction).

Barbara Matulka of New York University, *The Don Carlos Theme in Verhaeren's "Philippe II"*. (Verhaeren's significant treatment of the wide-

spread Don Carlos theme was largely inspired, in his variations from its traditional features, by his liberal and Belgian sympathies: Don Carlos was the potential liberator of the Netherlands. Comparison of *Philippe II* with its sources,—historical and romanesque,—as well as with preceding dramatic treatments. Verhaeren's version deviates widely from that of Saint Réal, Otway, Alfieri or Schiller but corresponds in some details to those of Brantôme, Enciso and La Motte Fouqué, and he may have known Gachard's historical investigation, *Don Carlos et Philippe II*, 1863).

Raphael Levy of the University of Baltimore, *An Astrological Treatise in Mediaeval Belgium*. (This paper is based on a forthcoming edition of *The Beginning of Wisdom*. This treatise was translated into French in 1273 under the patronage of Henry Bate at Malines. The University of Ghent possesses a Latin translation of the fourteenth-century by Arnoul of Quinquempoix, Belgium. The various versions in Hebrew, French, Latin, Catalan, and English will be discussed for two purposes: 1) to illustrate their importance in Old French lexicography, since they offer numerous corrections and additions to Godefroy; 2) to show their value in the history of science, since reference to them was made by Nicholas de Cues, Pico della Mirandola, Christopher Columbus, et alii).

Gustave L. van Roosbroeck of Columbia University, *Commemoration of Henri Pirenne, 1862-1935*. (An outline of the work of the famous Belgian historian. Its influence upon literary history).

The contributions presented at previous meetings include:

B. M. Woodbridge, *Franz Hellens*.

M. Chazin, Mlle. Mali, *The Belgian Disciple of Emerson*.

R. Pope, C. Lemonnier's *Feeling for Nature*.

G. Verriest, *The Metrical Experiments of André Van Hasselt*.

R. Hays, *The Foreign Influences in the Work of Karel Van de Woestijne* (the great Flemish poet).

M. Chazin, *A Belgian Savant in America: J. C. Houveau*.

E. H. Polinger, *A Survey of the Belgian Drama since Maeterlinck and Verhaeren*.

B. Matulka, *The Netherlands as a Center for the Diffusion of Spanish Books in the Sixteenth Century*.

J. de Boer, *Historical Drama in Contemporary Belgian Literature*.

G. L. van Roosbroeck, *The Modern Literature of Flanders*.

M.-L. Forasté, *The International Fame of Verhaeren*.

E. Cross, *Observations on the Romance-Germanic Linguistic Frontier, with special reference to the Netherlands*.

G. L. van Roosbroeck, *Modern Flemish Prose Writers*.

These meetings were presided by Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck of Columbia University as Chairman, and with Miss Rose-Marie Daele of Hunter College of the City of New York as Secretary, excepting the first one, at which Dr. M. Chazin was Secretary.

A BELGIAN APPRECIATION OF THE BELGIAN INSTITUTE IN THE UNITED STATES

The Representative in Belgium of the *Belgian Institute in the United States*, the outstanding Professor Jean Gessler of the University of Louvain, has published in *Alumni*, the organ of the Belgian scholars of the *Fondation Universitaire*, a lengthy study about its activities. He greatly amplified the article published by the Flemish daily, *De Standaard*, "American Interest in Belgian Culture". He surveys successively the organization of the Belgian Division of the *Modern Language Association of America* and its several meetings. As to the activities of Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck, who was re-elected its chairman, he states: "This choice was mandatory: the active and distinguished professor of Columbia University has been the promoter of this new interest in artistic and literary Belgium; he has been its great animator. Thanks to him we have seen especially interesting studies appear in America, about which the Belgian public ought to know; again thanks to him, a recrudescence of interest in Belgian books has manifested itself."

It was also gracious to render homage to the *Romanic Review*, which, under the editorship of Professor J. L. Gerig and Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck, General Secretary, has been most hospitable to Belgian literature and literary history. Although the *Romanic Review* is rather well represented in Belgium, no Belgian library should dispense with this important link between Belgium and America.

Professor Gessler then enumerates the principal of the one hundred volumes of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*, and finds that the interests of its editor are reflected in the fact that studies on Comparative Literature number twenty volumes,—about one-fifth of the total number,—and the literature of the eighteenth century, twelve volumes, but he adds that in all fields noteworthy contributions have been made. He states: "Among these numerous books, which all present interesting new material, it is those which are particularly remarkable and deserve more than admiring mention that I find myself obliged to discuss. In the first place I will cite, as *prima inter pares*, the study of Comparative Literature of Miss B. Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion*. Without the least exaggeration, one can affirm that this marvellous volume belongs to the small number of definitive works." He also mentions in the same category the work of A. H. Krappe, *Balor with the Evil Eye, Studies in Celtic and French Literature*, and E. Brugger, *The Illuminated Tree in Two Arthurian Romances*, and gives special eulogy to a number of other publications. He ends his most interesting and informative article with an appeal for still greater co-operation between Belgium and the United States.

THE COMMEMORATION OF KING ALBERT I OF BELGIUM AND THE BI-CENTENARY OF PRINCE CHARLES-JOSEPH DE LIGNE

On May 28, 1935, a most impressive ceremony was held in The Great Hall of the College of the City of New York in commemoration of that great hero of humanity and friend of America, King Albert I of Belgium. An academic procession preceded the address delivered by President Frederick B. Robinson,

who, in an eloquent discourse, pointed to the great example of uprightness, devotion to duty, love of peace, and interest in culture that had been set by the late King Albert, whose untimely and accidental death is still deplored. He eulogized Belgium as a centre of culture and brought out its high significance for international relations.

Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck of Columbia University commemorated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne, one of the most outstanding of the French writers of the eighteenth century. His European career as a soldier, diplomat, wit, and a writer, caused him to be called "the prince of intellectual Europe". Professor van Roosbroeck stressed especially the cosmopolitan aspect of his mental attitude and of his works.

President Robinson then presented to the large audience His Excellency, Count Robert van der Straten-Ponthoz, Belgian Ambassador to the United States, who delivered a very interesting, well-informed speech on Belgian-American relations, which showed how deeply acquainted he is about the special problems of the two countries. He brought eulogy to the C. R. B. Educational Foundation, Inc. and to the Belgian Institute in the United States for their activities, and to the College of the City of New York for its hospitality.

Finally, His Excellency, D. Hennen Morris, American Ambassador to Belgium, addressed the audience and added the great weight of his authority to the statements of the preceding speaker and testified to the great sympathy that has existed between the two countries for many decades. He added some references to his personal experiences in Belgian matters and about his relations with both the late King Albert I and King Leopold III.

A most enthusiastic acclaim greeted these speakers. A musical program, consisting of an orchestra and an organ, was arranged, and selections by César Franck, Jacques Lemmens, Beethoven and Saint Saens were played. The audience was composed of about 2,000 persons and comprised a number of outstanding Americans, Trustees of the College of the City of New York, and well-known Belgian representatives in the United States such as: The Honorable Raoul Grenade, the Honorable J. E. Johnston Mali, the Honorable Joseph Jannen, the Honorable Charles Hallaert, Mr. Perrin C. Galpin, Reverend Father C. C. Roosens, Baron de Béthune, Mr. W. B. Gets, Mr. G. de Langle, etc. After the ceremony, President Robinson offered a special luncheon to both Ambassadors, as well as to other distinguished guests. The speeches of the Belgian Ambassador and President Robinson were reported in the *Amérique* and in the *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, while the speech of Professor van Roosbroeck appeared in the *Messenger de New York*.

THE DEATH OF PROFESSOR HENRI PIRENNE (1862-1935)

The death of Professor Henri Pirenne on October 24, 1935, deprives the *Belgian Institute in the United States* of one of its staunchest and most enthusiastic supporters. He was the first of the Belgian scholars to accept membership on its Honorary Committee and at once put himself, with his characteristic modesty and zeal, at the disposal of the *Belgian Institute in the United States* to be helpful in every possible way. On March 19, 1935, he wrote to the Director of this Institute, Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck, from Rome, where he was sojourning as Director of the *Belgian Historical Institute*:

"I have known for many years and I sincerely admire the activity which you have shown as founder and director of this *Institute*, which has done so much to spread in America and in other countries the knowledge of the Belgian literary movement. Its publications are unusually remarkable. . . . I shall be very glad to do whatever I can, within the measure of my means, to collaborate to their diffusion."

During the last months of his life, notwithstanding his failing health and domestic sorrows, this outstanding historian whom Belgium mourns as a national celebrity, did everything within his power to further our efforts. His interest in the work of the *Belgian Institute in the United States* will prove a constant incentive even after his death. The Committee has decided to keep his name on the list of Honorary Members, with an indication of his decease as a reminder of the generosity with which he appreciated our efforts.

Henri Pirenne was Professor Emeritus and former Rector of the University of Ghent, Professor extraordinary at the University of Brussels, Member of the Royal Belgian Academy, Secretary of the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium. He was associate member of the *Institut de France*, the *Académie des Inscriptions*, and the British Academy. He was also a member of the Academies of Amsterdam, Vienna, Spain, Leningrad, Sweden, Copenhagen, Christiania, Boston, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Göttingen, and Munich (resigned). He was President of the *Belgian Historical Institute* in Rome; Vice-President of the *Comité International des Sciences Historiques*; Honorary Vice-President of the *Société d'Histoire moderne*, etc. The orders which were bestowed upon him are numerous: Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold; Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown; Grand Cross of the Order of Alfonso XII of Spain; Commander of the Legion of Honor, and several others. He was *doctor honoris causa* of the Universities of Brussels, Paris, Oxford, Strasbourg, Bordeaux, Manchester, Leipzig, Tübingen, Groningen, Cambridge, Alger, Dijon and Montpellier. He has lectured or been a visiting professor at the principal European and American Universities.

RECITAL OF BELGIAN POETRY BY CARLO LITEN; INDUCTION OF THE HONORABLE RAOUL GRENADE AS HONORARY MEMBER

The *Belgian Institute in the United States*, under the Presidency of Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck, organized on December 7, 1935, a recital of Belgian poetry by the well-known artist, Mr. Carlo Liten. The program was preceded by a dinner held at the Belgian restaurant, Maison De Winter, 36 West 48th Street, New York City. About one hundred persons attended, among whom we may mention: The Honorable Raoul Grenade, Mrs. Raoul Grenade, The Honorable J. T. Johnston Mali, Mrs. J. T. Johnston Mali, Reverend Father C. C. Roosens, Reverend Father O. A. Nys, Professor F. Ernst of New York University, Professor V. L. Dedek-Héry of the College of the City of New York, Mrs. Ernestine Dedek-Héry of the Spence School, Miss Rose-Marie Daele of Hunter College of the City of New York, Professor Barbara Matulka of New York University, Mr. J. J. Spagnoli of Brooklyn College, Dr. E. Cross of the College of the City of New York, Mr. Ernest Hanes of the Scarborough School, Mr. L. Sorieri of St. John's College, Mr. I. F. Fraser of Columbia University,

Dr. J. Rossi of the University of Wisconsin, Dr. S. R. Mitchneck of Columbia University, Dr. M. Chazin of the College of the City of New York, Mr. D. Negro of Brooklyn College, Dr. J. Matthew of the College of the City of New York, Mr. G. de Langle, Mr. L. P. Courtines of the College of the City of New York, Miss E. A. Lundell, Mr. S. Travers of the College of the City of New York, as well as others interested in cultural and educational matters, representing all New York institutions and some of the surrounding districts.

Professor van Roosbroeck inducted the Honorable Raoul Grenade as a member of the Honorary Committee of the Belgian Institute in the United States and paid homage to his indefatigable helpfulness in behalf of Belgian culture in the United States. The Belgian Institute in the United States has always found in the Honorable Raoul Grenade a cultured, reliable, active and friendly counsellor, who has always done everything within his power to expand its activities and to help it in accomplishing the rôle for which it has been designed. The audience acclaimed him by a rising vote of thanks and expressed to him the deepest gratitude for his help and his guidance.

Mr. Carlo Liten, who, for twenty years, has been spreading the gospel of beauty all over the globe and who has visited the entire civilized world to proclaim the merit of Belgian literature, aroused the audience to enthusiasm by his artistic, simple and yet deeply moving interpretation of the masterpieces of Verhaeren, Maeterlinck, van Lerberghe, and other masters of Belgian letters. To all lovers of Belgian culture, who had the privilege of hearing him, this proved an unforgettable evening of artistic enjoyment and Belgian-American sympathy.

Among the many articles that appeared in the American papers at the occasion of the renewed visit of Carlo Liten to the United States, we may quote the one by Bogomir Dalma in *Amérique* of November 3, 1935:

"I met the celebrated Belgian tragedian, fifteen years ago, at the home of Madame Marthe Emile Verhaeren, widow of the great Belgian poet, at St. Cloud.

"The noble companion of the author of *La Multiple Splendeur* and of *Les Villes Tentaculaires* introduced him to me with these words: 'Carlo Liten, ambassador of poetry.' As a matter of fact, the forceful physiognomy of Carlo Liten reflected nobility and strength. It was evident that this man, dominator of the theatre, was a real servant of the ideal. He was on his return from England and was leaving for America the next day. Mme. Emile Verhaeren admired him greatly and said to me: 'He is the best interpreter of my husband's works. I weep while listening to his recitation of the poems, 'Heures claires'. He is an admirable artist'.

"Since then, Carlo Liten has literally walked on all the paths of the globe, carrying the true message of the great French and Belgian poets. At his call, the enthusiastic crowds of the different parts of the world have rushed to hear his voice. He has given recitals in many cities such as: Warsaw, Batavia, New York, Saigon, Brussels, Belgrade, London, Cairo, Chicago, Sydney, Buenos Aires, Port au Prince, and in the archipelagoes of the Australian waters. He has been the incomparable French interpreter of: Villon, Racine, La Fontaine, Corneille, A. de Musset, Albert Samain, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Arthur Rimbaud, Luc Durtain, Joachim Gasquet.

"Glorious child of that valiant and noble Belgium, he has devoted a great part of his recitals to the poets of the French language: Maurice Maeterlinck,

G. Rodenbach, Marcel Wyseur, Ch. Van Lerberghe, F. Ansel, Grégoire le Roy, Maria Biermé, Camille Meloy, Marie Gevers, etc.

"Above all, he has interpreted with his whole heart and soul the sublime and powerful poems of his great friend, Emile Verhaeren, one of the greatest poets of all times, whom King Albert I of Belgium admired and loved; for the 'chevalier king', as he was called, was erudite, a profound thinker, and a good guide of his people, an ardent admirer of the author of *Flammes hautes* and of *Ailes rouges de la guerre*, who died tragically in 1916 accomplishing his duty.

"Carlo Liten travelled in America during the war, with the congenial violinist, Ysaye, reciting the patriotic poems of his country which had been invaded and oppressed; among the poems were 'Carillons' by Camaerts and the 'Drapeau belge' by Sir Edward Elgar, one of the greatest geniuses of music, who died only a year ago.

"Carlo Liten, who after an absence of fifteen years, appears once more before the comprehending and eclectic public in New York, will again find that triumphant success of yore, for he belongs to that race of real and great actors, whom no one will ever forget."

On Thursday evening, December 19, 1935, Carlo Liten gave a recital of Belgian poetry at the residence of Mrs. Howard Carroll, under the patronage of the Honorable J. E. Johnston Mali, Belgian Consul in New York. The Tragedian and the Belgian poets were introduced by Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck.

Recently Carlo Liten has given many recitals in Canada, including Montreal, Quebec and other cities, as well as in the United States.

GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C. Professor F. Russell Pope, Head of the Department of French at this institution and representative of the *Belgian Institute in the United States* in the South, addressed the *South Atlantic Modern Language Association* on November 30, 1935. His speech dealt with the Belgian novelist, Camille Lemonnier, in particular, and with the Belgian modern novel in general.

REED COLLEGE, PORTLAND, ORE. Professor Benjamin Woodbridge, one of the most outstanding exponents of Belgian letters in the United States, recently received the Order of the Crown of Belgium and the *Palmes Académiques* of France. His volume, *Le Roman Belge contemporain*, a publication of the *Belgian Institute in the United States*, was crowned by the Belgian Academy. He fully deserves these honors—and more. He and Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck supply the *ROMANIC REVIEW* of Columbia University regularly with *Chronicles on Belgian Letters*, and, thanks to the sympathetic attitude of this authoritative periodical, hundreds of American and foreign libraries, as well as several thousand readers, are regularly informed about Belgian literature. Dr. Woodbridge has recently written about Hubert Krains, Jean Tousseul, George Virrès, etc.

MEDALS FOR ESSAYS ON BELGIAN LITERATURE

Thanks to the generosity of the *C. R. B. Educational Foundation, Inc.*, the *Belgian Institute in the United States* will offer annually two prizes for the best essays written on a subject to be indicated by Professor G. L. van Roos-

broeck. The first prize will consist of a large silver medal representing the late King Albert and Queen Elizabeth, and twenty-five dollars as a cash prize; the second will consist of a smaller silver medal and fifteen dollars as a cash prize. The awards will be known as the King Albert Medals. The subject for 1936 will soon be announced to the Graduate Schools in American colleges and universities. All inquiries relating to this matter should be addressed to: Director of the *Belgian Institute in the United States*, 504 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Respectfully submitted,
CAROLINE MATULKA,
Secretary-Treasurer.

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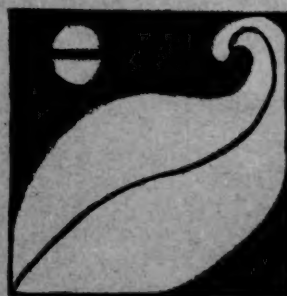
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